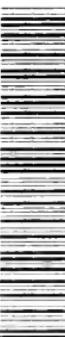


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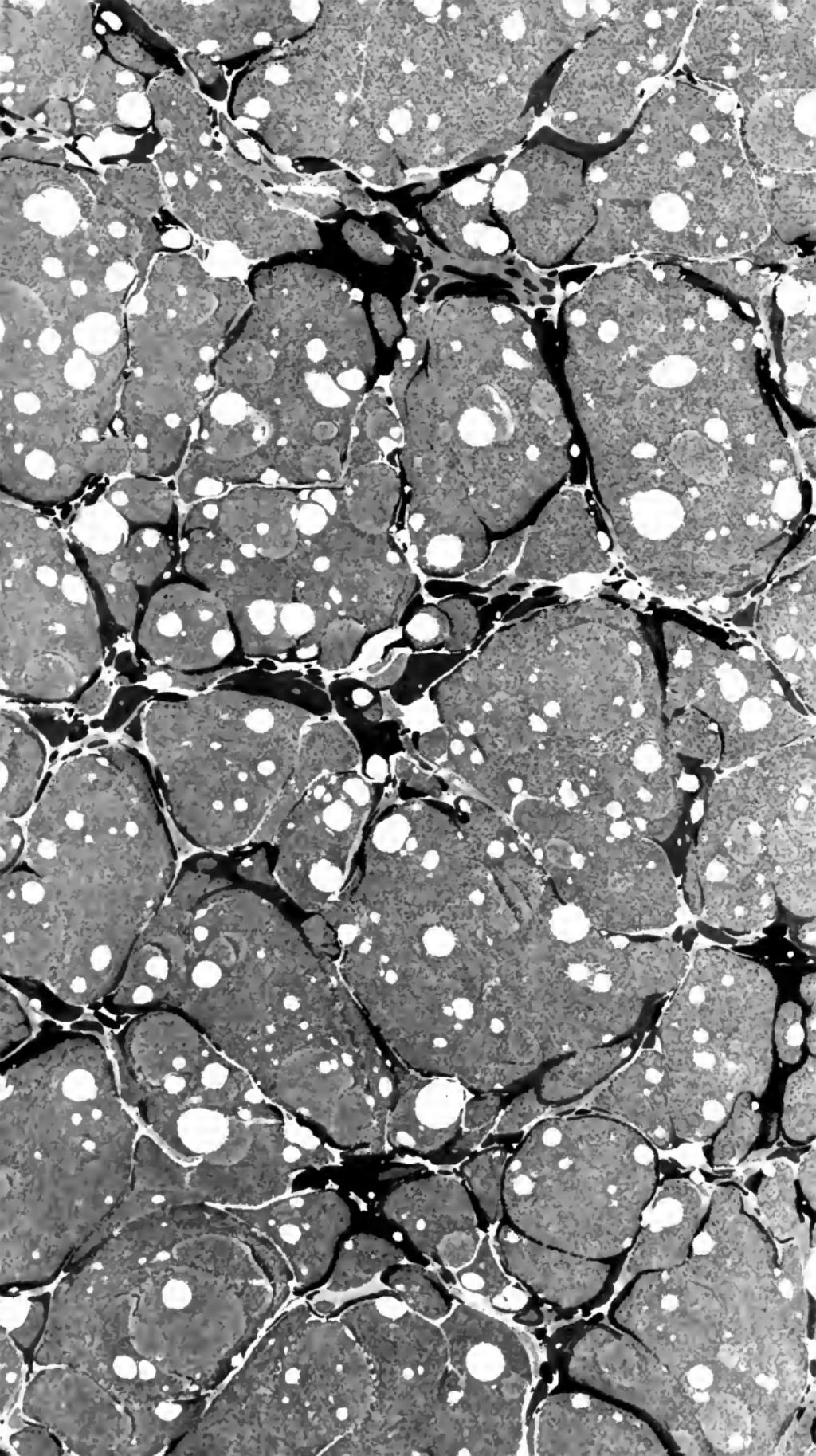


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THE
PHILOLOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL
W O R K S
OF
CHARLES BUTLER,
ESQUIRE,
OF LINCOLN'S-INN.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

CONTAINING
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AND
ESSAYS.

SECOND EDITION.

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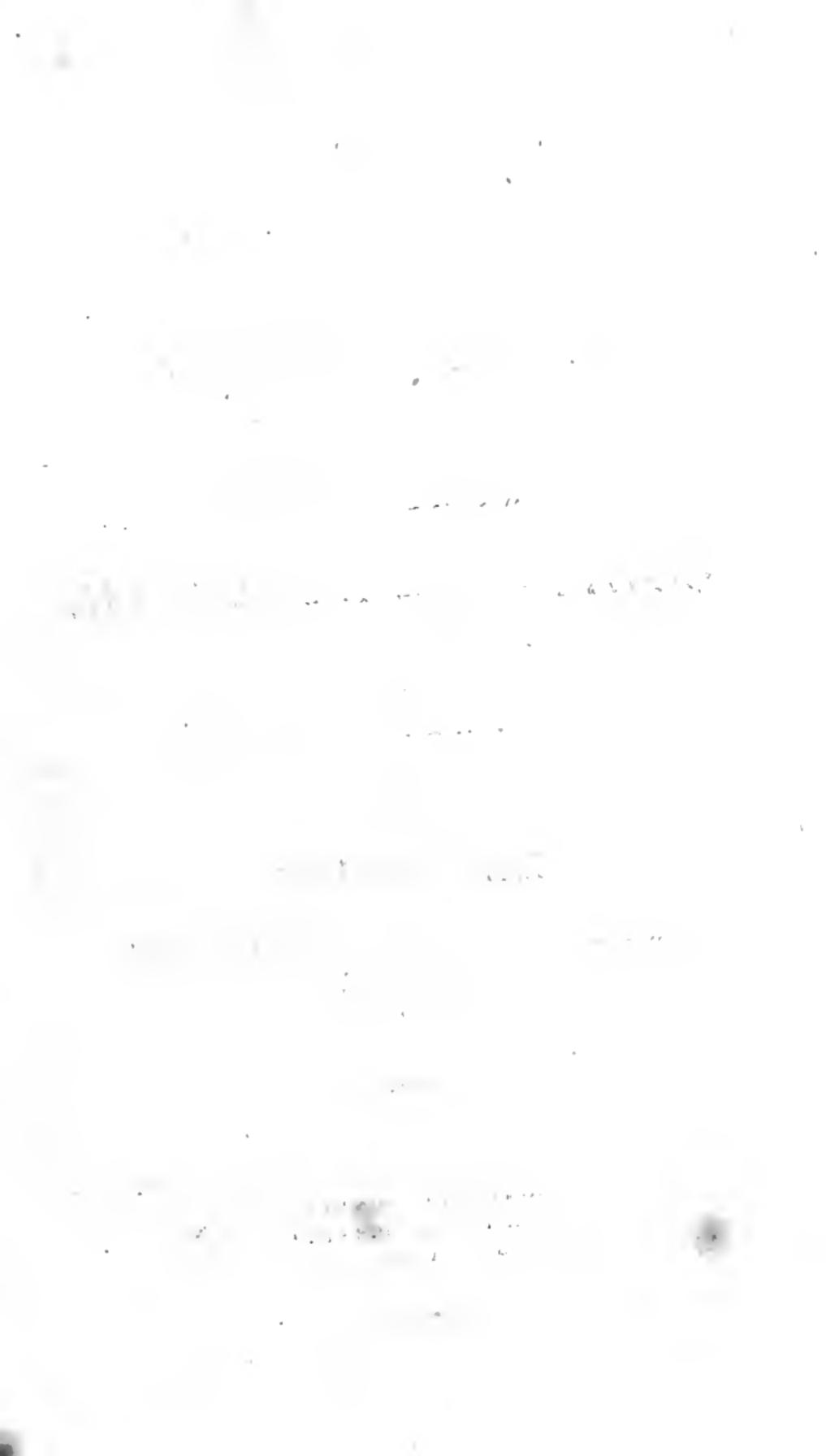
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AN
HISTORICAL
AND
LITERARY ACCOUNT
OF THE
FORMULARIES,
CONFessions oF FAITH,
OR
SYMBOLIC BOOKS
OF THE
Roman-Catholic,
GREEK, AND PRINCIPAL PROTESTANT
CHURCHES.

INTENDED AS A SUPPLEMENT TO HORÆ BIBLICÆ, AND TO
THE SYLLOGE CONFESSIONUM, SUB TEMPUS REFORMANDÆ
ECCLESIE EDITARUM, PRINTED IN 1804,
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.



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INTRODUCTION.

THE Constitutions of the Roman-catholic and Protestant Churches, differ in nothing more, than in the following important points: The Catholic Church acknowledges the authority of the scriptures, and, in addition to them, a body of traditionary law: she receives both under the authority, and with the interpretation of the Church; and she believes that the authority of the Church in receiving and interpreting them, is infallible. The Protestant Churches acknowledge no law but the scriptures, no interpreter of the scriptures, but the

understanding and conscience of the individual who peruses them.

That the Roman-catholic Church should propound a formulary of her faith, enlarge it, from time to time, as further interpretation is wanted, and enforce acquiescence in it by spiritual censures, is consistent with *her* principles. Whether such a pretension can be avowed without inconsistency by any Protestant Church, has been a subject of much discussion. In point of fact, however, no Protestant Church is without her formulary, or abstains from enforcing it by spiritual censures. To enforce their formularies by civil penalties, is inconsistent with the principles of every Christian Church. All churches however have so enforced, and blamed the others for so enforcing them.

Such formularies, from the circumstance of their collecting into one instrument, several articles of religious belief, are generally known on the continent by the appellation of SYMBOLIC Books. To give some account of the principal of these formularies, is the object of these pages.

The following order is preserved in them : They begin with the Symbolic Books of the *Roman-catholic Church*, as the church, from which all other churches have separated. They then proceed to the Symbolic Books of the *Greek Church*, as the church nearest to her in antiquity. After this, they proceed to the Symbolic Books of the *Protestant Churches*, comprehending, under that word, all the churches which, at the period of the Reformation, or subsequently to it, have separated from the Roman-catholic Church. They are here considered under the known division of the *Lutheran* and *Reformed* Churches ; the former division embraces the churches which profess the creed expressed in the confession of Augsburgh ; the latter embraces the churches which adhere to the doctrines of Calvin. Sometimes, and particularly in England, the term “ *Reformed*,” is generally used as standing in opposition to the Roman-catholic Church : but it is more accurately used, for the common denomination of the *Calvinistic* churches on the Continent. In this sense, it was first assumed by the French Calvinistic reformers, and passed from them to the members of the other churches of the same or a similar creed. From

their differing from the Lutheran churches on the doctrine of the real presence in the sacrament of the Eucharist, they acquired the appellation of *Sacramentarians*; and, from some circumstance, which has not been yet ascertained, they received in France the name of *Hugonots*. The work then proceeds to the Symbolic Books of the *Waldenses* and *Bohemians*. The separation of the members of these sects from the Church of Rome may be traced to the ninth century; but they do not fall within the subject of these pages till their fraternization with Protestant churches. The account of the churches on the continent closes with the “*Articuli Visitatorii*” of Saxony, as presenting, under a few heads, what the framers of them considered to constitute the chief doctrinal points in difference between the Lutheran and the Reformed churches.

The Symbolic Books of the *Arminians* and *Socinians* then come under consideration; a page is then assigned to the *Unitarians*. The reader is then conducted to Great Britain; and the Symbolic Books of the national *Church of England* and those of the *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, and *Baptist*

churches are successively noticed. After which, some mention is made of the Symbolic Books of the *Churches of Scotland and Ireland*; and of the Symbolic Books of the *Anabaptists* and *Quakers*.

UNION OF
CALIFORNIA,
CONFessions OF FAITH.

CHAP. I.

THE SYMBOLIC BOOKS RECEIVED BY ALL CHRISTIAN
CHURCHES, AND SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE
SYMBOL OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

ALL Christian Churches receive the symbol of the Apostles, and the Nicene symbol.

As the symbol of St. Athanasius is received by the roman-catholic, and many other christian churches, some mention of it, in this place, seems proper.

I. 1.

The Symbol of the Apostles.

THE first of the christian creeds in antiquity, confessedly is, the symbol of the Apostles. On the origination of it, there are different opinions: some writers have supposed, that the Apostles, be-

fore their dispersion, agreed on its several articles. An ancient tradition, recorded by Rufinus, mentions, that each of the Apostles contributed to it a sentence ; and a writer, under the name of St. Austin, proceeds so far as to assign to each Apostle, the article, which he contributed. This tradition, and still more the improvement on it, have greatly the air of a fable : and even the opinion, which generally attributes the symbol to the Apostles, is open to serious objection. If it were their composition, it seems unaccountable, that it should not be mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles ; that no reference to it should be found in any of the apostolic epistles ; that it was not included among the canonical writings ; and that, when the council of Ephesus, and afterwards the council of Chalcedon, proscribed all creeds, except the Nicene, neither of them excepted the symbol of the Apostles from the general proscription. Without discussing any of these opinions, it is sufficient for the present purpose to state, in the words of Mr. Grabe, adopted by Mr. Bingham, (*Ecc. Ant. Book x. l. 4.*) “ that the symbol of the Apostles unquestionably contains the Articles of Faith, solemnly professed by the first christians, in their confessions, in the Apostles’ days, by their authority, or at least with their approbation.” It has been called by several titles. In the course of time, it acquired the name, both in the eastern and in the western churches, of the symbol of the Apostles ;

but, in England, it is more frequently called the Apostles' Creed.

I. 2.

The Nicene Symbol.

THIS ancient and important document of christian faith, in its original form, was published by the council of Nice. It was enlarged by the second general council of Constantinople. As it was settled at that council, the form of it is the same as that, which is used in the roman-catholic and protestant liturgies. At an early period, the word *Filioque*, to express the procession of the Holy Ghost, both from the Father and the Son, was inserted in it, by the latin church. It is recited in the first council of Bracara, in 411; and in the third council of Toledo, in 589.

I. 3.

The Symbol of St. Athanasius.

THE symbol, which bears the name of St. Athanasius, has its place in the roman-catholic and some protestant liturgies. Whether St. Athanasius were the author of it, has been disputed with great erudition, by the learned of both communions. It is observable, 1st, that in his epistle to the people of Antioch, St. Athanasius explicitly declares, that, "perfectly acquiescing in the Nicene symbol, it

had never entered into his mind, to form a creed of his own ;" 2dly, that the creed does not contain the word " consubstantial," which, it is difficult to suppose, St. Athanasius would not have used ; and 3dly, that some articles in it seem counter positions to the subsequent heresies of Nestorius, Eutyches and the Monothelites. These seem strong arguments to show that St. Athanasius could not be its author.

CHAP. II.

THE SYMBOLIC BOOKS OF THE ROMAN-CATHOLIC CHURCH.

THE most important part of the Traditional Law of the roman-catholic church, consists of the Decrees of her General, or OEcumenical Councils. In the earliest ages of christianity, the christian prelates frequently assembled : their assemblies were called councils. When the assembly consisted of the bishops of one or more provinces, it was said to be a provincial council ; when all the prelates of christianity were convened, it was said to be a general or oecumenical council. Such councils have been often held. The subject of these pages confines them. I. To the Council of Trent.—This will lead us to mention II. The Creed of Pope Pius the 4th ; and III. The Roman Catechism.

II. 1.

The Council of Trent.

THOSE, who wish to form an accurate notion of the history of this important council, will find it useful to consider successively, 1st, The events, which took place, from the first general agitation of the measure, till the opening of the council ; 2dly, Its proceedings from its opening till its first suspension ; 3dly, Its proceedings from its second opening, till its second suspension ; 4thly, Its proceedings from its third opening, till its conclusion ; 5thly, Its conclusion ; 6thly, Its historiographers ;—and 7thly, Its reception by the Catholic states of Europe.

1. *The Assembly of a General Council* was first seriously agitated during the pontificate of Clement the 7th. Two opinions were entertained of the prudence of the measure. Its advocates contended, that the state of the public mind, in every thing, which respected religion, imperiously called for a decision of the church on the points in dispute ; and for a general regulation of her discipline : Its opposers contended, that the minds of men were in too great a ferment, to make it probable, that the members of the protestant churches would acquiesce in the decrees of the council ; and that, if they did not acquiesce, the distinction between them and the church of Rome would be indelibly

marked, and preclude every hope of a future union : but that, if matters were permitted to remain for some time in their unsettled state, the violence of party would insensibly abate, and a time arrive, when healing measures might have their effect. This was the language of the chancellor l'Hôpital, the president de Thou, and many other distinguished personages ; and pope Clement himself, when he found there was no hope of obtaining the previous obedience of the protestant churches to the council, seems to have inclined to this opinion.

On the death of Clement, in 1534, cardinal Farnese was elected Pope under the name of Paul the 3d. From the moment of his election, he made strenuous exertions to procure the assembly of the council ; but, from every side, met with resistance. It was found difficult to fix, even on the place of meeting. Mantua was first thought of ; but the duke of Mantua insisted on conditions, with which the pope could not honourably comply. The emperor Charles the fifth wished the council to sit in Germany. To this, Francis the first, the emperor's great antagonist, would not consent : at length, the city of Trent was fixed upon ; but the incessant wars between the emperor and Francis still procrastinated the meeting. Peace was concluded between the monarchs in 1544. Some difficulties, however, still continued, and retarded the council.

2. At length, on the 13th of December, 1545,

eleven years after the election of pope Paul the third, *the Council opened*. The matters for the discussion of the assembly were proposed by the legates of the holy See ; then discussed, first in separate, and afterwards in full congregations. They were finally decreed at the sittings of the council. Little was done in the three first sessions ; but, in the four subsequent sessions, the points respecting the canon of the holy books, original sin, free-will, justification, the sacraments in general, and baptism and confirmation in particular, were decided. An epidemical disorder breaking out at Trent, the council, at its eighth session, translated itself to Bologna. The ninth and tenth sessions were held in that city ; but nothing was decided in either, and the pope, being then very aged and infirm, suspended the proceedings of the council. He died in 1549.

3. With infinite difficulty, Julius the third, the immediate successor of Paul, effected *The second opening of the Council*, on the first of May, 1551. The eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth sessions were held during his Pontificate. The two first of these sessions were employed in preparatory proceedings. In the fourteenth and fifteenth, the council propounded the catholic doctrine on the eucharist, penance, and extreme unction. At the fifteenth, the protestants were invited to the assembly with an offer of safe con-

duct. At the sixteenth, the council again broke up in consequence of the war in Germany.

4. Julius the third died in 1555. He was succeeded by Marcellus the second. The pontificate of Marcellus lasted only one month, and he was succeeded by Paul the fourth, of the illustrious house of Caraffa, the dean of the sacred college. — Much was expected from him ; but, in 1559, he died without having re-assembled the council. The cardinal de Medicis, by whom he was succeeded, under the name of Pius the fourth, exerted himself, with success, in effecting a re-assembly of the council, and bringing it to a conclusion. By an uncommon union of prudence, zeal and moderation, he effected his object, and *The third opening of the Council* took place on the 18th of January, 1562. On that day, the seventeenth sessions of the council met : and it was attended by several cardinals and by 102 bishops. On the 18th, the censure of heretics was discussed, and a safe conduct granted to protestants. Nothing was decided at the eighteenth and nineteenth sessions. At the twenty-first, the council decided upon communion under both kinds ; at the twenty-second, on the sacrifice of the mass ; at the twenty-third and twenty-fourth, on the sacraments of holy orders and matrimony ; and, on the twenty-fifth, on purgatory, devotion to holy images, the invocation of saints, and indulgences.

5. Here, *the Council closed*. Its decrees were signed by 255 fathers: four of these were legates of the holy See; two, cardinals; three, patriarchs; twenty-five, archbishops; one hundred and sixty-eight, bishops; thirty-nine, deputies of absent prelates; seven, abbots; and seven, generals of religious orders. It was subscribed on separate schedules, by the ambassadors of the catholic Sovereigns.

It was earnestly wished by the pope and the roman-catholic states, that the protestant princes and their divines should attend the council; but they insisted on a deliberative voice: this the council uniformly refused. On this point, the negociation between them unfortunately failed; and, in a consistory, held on the 26th of January, 1564, the pope, having taken, in the usual form, the advice of the cardinals, confirmed the proceedings of the council. He died in the following year, and was succeeded by Pius the fifth.

That a considerable proportion of the prelates, by whom the council was attended, were distinguished by learning, virtue, and enlightened zeal for religion, has never been denied. Perhaps no civil or religious meeting ever possessed a greater assemblage of moral, religious, and intellectual endowment.

6. In the different atmospheres of Venice and Rome, *the History of the Council of Trent* has been written by the celebrated Fra Paolo, a con-

cealed Calvinist, (the translation of whose work, with notes, by Dr. Courayer, is more valued than the original), and by cardinal Pallavicini, a Jesuit. The cardinal does not dissemble, that some of the deliberations of the council were attended with intrigues and passion ; and that their effects were visible in various incidents : but he contends that there was a unanimity in all points, which related to doctrine, or the reformation of manners : and Dr. Courayer, in the preface to his translation, concedes, “ that, in what regarded discipline, several excellent regulations were made, according to the ancient spirit of the church ;” and observes, that, “ though all the disorders were not reformed by the council, yet, if we set aside prejudice, we may with truth acknowledge, that these were infinitely less, than they were before.” The classical purity, and severe simplicity of the style, in which the decrees of the council are expressed, are universally admired ; and are greatly superior to the language of any part of Justinian’s law.

In what concerns faith or morals, *the Decrees of the Council have been received* without any restriction, by every roman-catholic kingdom : all its decrees have been received by the Empire, Portugal, the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy without an *express* limitation. They have been received by the Spaniards, Neapolitans, and Sicilians, with a caution as to such points of discipline, as might be derogatory to their respective

sovereignties. But the council was never published in France. No attempt was made to introduce it into England. Pope Pius the fourth sent the acts of the council to Mary Queen of Scots, with a letter, dated the 13th of June, 1564, urging her to have the decrees of the council published in her dominions ; but nothing appears to have been done in consequence of it. *See Histoire de la Reception du Concile du Trente, dans les différens Etats Catholiques : Paris, 2 vols. 8vo. 1766.*

The acts of the council were deposited in the Vatican, and are said to have been removed from it to the Institut National, at Paris, by the order of Buonaparte. The canons and decrees of the councils, with the title, *Canones et Decreta Concilii Tridentini*, were published at Rome twice, in the year 1564, in one volume folio, and have since been reprinted in every form. Both the editions of 1564 are great typographical curiosities ; but the first of them is incomparably the greatest.

II. 2.

The Symbol of Pius the Fourth.

A succinct and explicit summary of the doctrine contained in the canons of the council of Trent, is expressed in the creed which was published by Pius the fourth in 1564, in the form of a Bull, and usually bears his name. It is received throughout the whole roman-catholic church : every roman-

catholic, who is admitted into the catholic church, publicly reads and professes his assent to it.

The tenor of it is as follows : “ I, N. believe and profess, with a firm faith, all and every one of the things, which are contained in the Symbol of Faith, which is used in the holy Roman church, viz.

“ I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible ; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, begotten, not made, consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things were made ; who, for us men, and for our salvation, came down from Heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin *Mary*, and was made man, was crucified also for us under *Pontius Pilate*, suffered, and was buried, and rose again the third day according to the Scriptures, and ascended into Heaven, sits at the right hand of the Father, and will come again with glory to judge the living and the dead, of whose Kingdom there will be no end : And in the Holy Ghost the Lord and Life-Giver, who proceeds from the Father and the Son : Who, together with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified, who spoke by the Prophets. And one holy catholic and apostolic church. I confess one baptism for the remission of sins, and I expect the resurrection of the body, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

“ I most firmly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other constitutions and observances of the same church.

“ I also admit the sacred Scriptures according to the sense which the holy Mother Church has held, and does hold, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the holy Scriptures ; nor will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

“ I profess also, that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and for the salvation of mankind, though all are not necessary for every one ; viz. baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, order, and matrimony, and that they confer grace ; and of these, baptism, confirmation, and order, cannot be reiterated without sacrilege.

“ I also receive and admit the ceremonies of the catholic church, received and approved in the solemn administration of all the above said sacraments.

“ I receive and embrace all and every one of the things, which have been defined and declared in the holy council of Trent, concerning original sin and justification.

“ I profess likewise, that, in the mass is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead ; and that in the most holy

sacrament of the eucharist there is truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, which conversion the catholic church calls transubstantiation.

“ I confess also, that under either kind alone, whole and entire, Christ and a true sacrament is received.

“ I constantly hold that there is a purgatory, and that the souls detained therein are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.

“ Likewise that the saints reigning together with Christ, are to be honoured and invocated ; that they offer prayers to God for us, and that their relics are to be venerated.

“ I most firmly assert, that the images of Christ, and of the Mother of God ever Virgin, and also of the other saints, are to be had and retained ; and that due honour and veneration are to be given to them.

“ I also affirm, that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the church ; and that the use of them is most wholesome to christian people.

“ I acknowledge the holy catholic and apostolic Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all churches ; and I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman bishop, the successor of

St. Peter, prince of the apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ.

“ I also profess and undoubtedly receive all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and general councils, and particularly by the holy council of Trent ; and likewise I also condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever condemned and anathematized by the church.

“ This true catholic faith, out of which none can be saved, which I now freely profess, and truly hold, I, *N.* promise, vow, and swear most constantly to hold and profess the same whole and entire, with God’s assistance, to the end of my life. Amen.”

II. 3.

The Catechism of the Council of Trent.

THE Council of Trent had recommended to the pope to publish a catechism. By the pope’s recommendation, a catechism was composed, under the direction of cardinal Borromæo, by several eminent theologians, principally by father Francis Foreiro a dominican friar, who had attended the council, in quality of theologian to the king of Portugal. The style was afterwards polished by Julius Poggiani. It is indifferently called the *Catechism of the Council of Trent, the Roman Catechism, and the Catechismus ad Parochos.*

It was first published at Rome, in one volume octavo, by Paulus Manutius, under the title “*Catechismus Romanus, ex decreto Concilii Tridentini, ad parochos, Pii v. Pontificis Maximi, editus.*” It is recommended by the erudition, exactness, and conciseness, with which it is written ; and by the neatness and elegance of its style. It is, perhaps, the best work which a person, who seeks to obtain a clear and comprehensive knowledge of the roman-catholic creed, can peruse.

II. 4.

Bossuet's Exposition of the Faith of the Catholic Church, in matters of Controversy.

THE unqualified approbation, which this work has received from the universal body of the roman-catholic church, gives it a place among, or at least, very near to her symbolic books.

In his controversies with protestants, Bossuet thought he observed that the chief obstacle to their conversion to the roman-catholic religion, arose from their mistaken notions of her doctrines : it therefore appeared to him, that he might greatly facilitate their conversion, by composing a full, but concise exposition of the roman-catholic faith.

It was a work of long and profound meditation. When finished, he caused twelve copies of it to be printed, and circulated them among the prelates

and theologians, by whose opinion and advice he considered it most likely he should be benefited. They returned the copies to him with their written remarks. These, he weighed with great attention, and finally, in December, 1671, gave to the public the Immortal Work. It was accompanied by the formal approbation of the archbishop of Rheims, and ten other bishops. Cardinal Bona, the oracle of the Roman See, to whom Bossuet sent it, wrote him a letter, commending it in the warmest terms of approbation. It was translated into every European language.

“ Nothing,” to use the words of the bishop of Alais, in his recent *Life of Bossuet*, (l. iii. s. 14.), “ can be compared to the sensation which it excited in every part of christian Europe. Never, since the Council of Trent, had there been seen a consent, so unanimous, of all the catholic churches, to adopt a common expression, in the profession of their opinions. Bossuet’s exposition so simple, so clear, and so luminous, of the religious tenets of the Roman church, was an answer to all the imaginary charges, which had been brought against her doctrine, her discipline, and her institutions.” Several protestants declared, that nothing was wanting to it, but to be avowed; and that, if it should be universally approved by the theologians of the church of Rome, they should lose their repugnance to their re-union with the roman-catholic church.

Other protestants represented the work differently. Their representation cannot be expressed better, than in the language of the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.—“ In the exposition of the catholic doctrine,” says that celebrated writer, in the Memoirs of his own Life and Writings, “ Bossuet assumes with consummate art, the tone of candour and simplicity: and the ten-horned monster is transformed, by his magic touch, into a milk-white hind, who must be loved as soon as seen.”

Three answers to it were published: one, by M. de la Bastide; another, by M. Noguier; and a third, by M. de Brueys; all of them calvinists of distinction. They agreed in accusing Bossuet of “ a disingenuous softening of the real doctrine of the roman-catholic church.” They hinted, “ how much they desired, that all the members of the church of Rome, should hold the opinions and use the language of Bossuet: this,” they observed, “ would be a happy commencement of reformation:” but they remarked, that “ this was far from being the case;” that “ no opinion upon the work had been pronounced by the Pope;” that “ it had not even been approved of by the Sarbonne.”

But, in due time, this opinion was pronounced, and this approbation obtained. In 1679, pope Innocent expressed his approbation of it, in two briefs, which he addressed to Bossuet; and, in 1682, it was unanimously approved by the general assembly

of the French clergy, which was held in that year at Paris. Father Maimbourg stands a solitary instance of disapprobation by a roman-catholic ; and his disapprobation is no more than a general sneer.

With the approbations, which we have mentioned, a 6th edition of the Exposition was printed at Paris, in 1686. From this edition, all the subsequent editions have been printed.

One of the twelve copies printed by Bossuet for private circulation, fell into the hands of Dr. Wake, archbishop of Canterbury. Perceiving that it varied, in some respects, from the subsequent editions, Dr. Wake announced the discovery to the public, and deposited the copy, thus fallen into his hands, among the archives at Lambeth. It was immediately reported, that “ this copy was, in reality, the original edition ;” that “ the Sarbonne had disapproved of it ;” that “ in consequence of this disapprobation, the edition had been called in, a second published, with important variations, and imposed on the public as the first.” Bossuet was informed of these reports by a letter from father Johnstone, a benedictine monk. He replied to the father by a letter of the 26th May, 1686. He mentions in it the circumstance of the impression of twelve copies for private circulation among his friends, in the manner in which this has been related ; he peremptorily denies, that the work had been censured by the Sarbonne, or any individual catholic ; he explicitly declares, that no edition had

been given to the public, before that, which he announced as the first; and unequivocally asserts, that there was no important variation between the copy produced by Dr. Wake, and the copies in general circulation. In reply to the work itself, and in vindication of the charge of disingenuousness, which he had brought against Bossuet, Dr. Wake published his *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England*. He prefixed to it, *A collection of some of those passages that were corrected in the first edition of the Exposition suppressed by Monsieur de Meaux*. This work was answered by, *A Vindication of Bossuet's Exposition*. Dr. Wake replied to the Vindication, by *A Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England*. To that, there was a *Reply*. In answer to that reply, Dr. Wake published “*His second Defence* :” and to his second Defence, there was published, “*A full Answer*.” Here the controversy appears to have closed.

In the Life of Bossuet, (l. iii. *Pieces Justificatives*, n. 1.) the Bishop of Alais has inserted all the variations pointed out by Dr. Wake. After perusing and examining these alleged variations, either as they are given by Dr. Wake, or as they are given by the bishop of Alais, the reader will probably agree with the bishop, “that they are so slight and indifferent, so evidently determined by the grammatical motive of giving force and precision to the style, and so foreign to the substance of the

doctrine, that, by producing them, Dr. Wake rendered unintentionally a great service to Bossuet."

A translation of it was published in English, by the abbé Montague, in 1672 ; in Irish, by father Porter, at the press of the Propaganda, in 1673 ; in German, by the prince bishop of Paderborn, in the same year ; in Dutch, by the bishop of Castorie, in 1678 ; in Italian, by the abbé Nasari, under the inspection of the cardinal d'Etréées, who, himself, corrected the proofs of the impression. This translation was formally approved by Ricci, the secretary of the sacred congregation of indulgences, and by father Laurence Brancati, librarian of the Vatican ; and, with their permission, was dedicated to the congregation of Propaganda. It was translated into Latin, under the immediate inspection of Bossuet, by the abbé de Fleury, the author of the invaluable History of the Church. It is much to be lamented that the English translation of it is very ill executed.

CHAP. III.

THE SYMBOLIC BOOKS OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

THE progress of the church of Constantinople, from a very humble station to the eminent rank which she afterwards obtained in the christian hierarchy, is a curious and important event in ecclesiastical history.

Before the seat of the Roman empire was transferred to Constantinople, the church had the three patriarchs, of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria. Three dioceses were independent of them ; and subject, each to its primate ; that of Asia, to the primate of Ephesus ; that of Thrace, to the primate of Heraclea ; and that of Pontus, to the primate of Cesarea. It is not clear, that the church of Constantinople had its peculiar bishop ; at most, the bishopric was inconsiderable, and its bishop subject to the metropolitan of Heraclea. After the translation of the seat of empire to Constantinople, the bishops of Constantinople acquired importance ; by degrees, they obtained ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Thrace, Asia, and Pontus, and were elevated to the rank of patriarch. The same rank was conferred on the bishop of Jerusalem. Thus, during a considerable period, the five patriarchs of the christian world were those of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. In course of time, the patriarch of Constantinople raised himself above the other oriental patriarchs, and finally assumed the title of œcuménical, or universal, patriarch. The popes opposed this attempt, and preserved their own rights ; and therefore, as Mr. Gibbon observes, “ till the great division of the church, the Roman bishop had ever been respected by the orientalists, as the first of the five patriarchs.” (*Vol. 1. pa. 400, quarto edition*).

Even in matters of ceremony in civil concerns,

Constantinople yielded to Rome: the consul of the West preceded the consul of the East. After the separation of the Greek from the Latin church, the five patriarchs were represented in Rome, by five churches; the Roman patriarchate, by the church of St. John of Lateran; the patriarchate of Constantinople, by the church of St. Peter in the Vatican; the patriarchate of Alexandria, by the church of St. Paul; the patriarchate of Antioch, by the church of St. Mary the Greater; and the patriarchate of Jerusalem, by the church of St. Lawrence. (See *Onuphrius de Episcopatibus, titulis, et diaconiis Cardinalium.*)

The points, which the Greeks objected to the Latin church, and upon which they professed to justify their separation from her, were, 1st, that, in the article of the symbol or creed of Constantinople, which mentions the procession of the Holy Ghost, the Latin church had inserted the word “*filioque*,” to describe the double procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and Son; 2dly, that the Latin church acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of the Pope; and 3dly, that in the consecration of the sacrifice of the altar, the Latin church used unleavened bread. The history of the temporary re-union of the churches, at the council of Florence, is well known. The attempts which, about the middle of the sixteenth century, were set on foot, to lead the Greeks of the Levant to a reunion with the See of Rome, and the

successful exertions of Cyrilus Lucaris, the patriarch of Constantinople, to prevent it, are also known: but a full and judicious history appears to be wanting.

Wherever the Turkish empire extends, the Greek church is in a state of subjection; but, in an immense part of the globe, as both the Russias, Georgia, Circassia, Mingrelia, and the islands in the Mediterranean, belonging to the Venetians, the Greek church is that of the state. Even in his present condition of degradation, the patriarch of Constantinople holds his pre-eminence over every other prelate of the Greek church. Mr. Dallaway observes, that, "since the close of the sixteenth century, the Russian church has claimed a jurisdiction independent of the See of Constantinople; nevertheless, appeals have been made to this See, in cases of extraordinary importance." This is confirmed by Mr. King, in his *Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek church of Russia*. Thus, ever since the separation of the churches, each of the two prelates, the bishop of Rome and the patriarch of Constantinople, has been the centre of different systems.

The Greek church has many important documents of her faith, subsequent to her separation from the church of Rome: two of them are entitled to particular mention. The first, is the *Confession of her true and sincere Faith*, which, on the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet the

second, in 1453, Gennadius, its patriarch, presented to the conqueror. It was favourably received, and Mahomet delivered into the hand of Gennadius, the crozier or pastoral staff, as an emblem of his investiture of the patriarchal See, and authorized him to assure the Greeks in his name, of their lives, their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion. An account of the interview is given in the *Historia Patriarcharum qui sederunt in hac magnâ catholicâque ecclesiâ Constantinopolitanensi postquam cepit eam Sultanus Mechemeta*: written in modern Greek, by Emmanuel Malaxus, a Peloponnesian, translated into Latin by Crusius, Professor at Tübingen, and published by him, in his *Turco-Græciæ, Libri octo*. A copy of this curious work, containing also the *Germano-Græcia* of the same author, is in the University library, Cambridge.

The second, and by far the most authentic document, which we possess of the creed of the Greek church is, *The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Greek Church*. It was published in 1642, by Mogila, the metropolitan of Kiow: It is written in the form of a catechism, and has the approbation of three Russian bishops, his suffragans. It was afterwards approved, with great solemnity, by the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; by the bishops of Ancyra, Larissa, Chalcedon, Adrianople, Beræa, Rhodes, Methymna, Lacedemon, and Chio; and by several

of the chief officers of the Greek church of Constantinople. An edition of it in the Greek, Latin and German languages was published at Wratislaw, in octavo, in 1751. An ordinance of Peter the Great, of the patriarchs of Moscow and the perpetual synod, declared it to express the religious credence of the Russian church ; and that the doctrine of it should be universally followed and taught. An abridgment of the most interesting articles in this catechism, is inserted in the Appendix to this work, Note 1.

It was the wish of the writer of these pages, to insert in them an historical account of the confession of faith of Cyrilus Lucaris, the patriarch of Constantinople, subscribed by him in 1621, and of the counter-confession of the council of Jerusalem, held in that city in 1672, and presided by Doritheus, its patriarch ; but after much research, the materials for it have not fallen within his reach.

CHAP. IV.

THE SYMBOLIC BOOKS OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCHES.

THE Council of Trent was attended with this incalculable good, that, in a series of short canons, it propounded all the articles of catholic faith, in

explicit terms ; and thus, by a reference to them, both the members of the roman-catholic church, and the members of the churches separated from her, might readily perceive the points, in which the churches agreed ; the points, in which they disagreed ; and the nature and extent of the disagreement. A similar exposition of their faith had been previously given by the Lutherans in the confession presented by them at the diet of Augsburgh. It was originally called the Confession of Augsburgh. I. That Confession, II. The Defence of it by Melanethon, III. The Articles of Smalcald, IV. The Great and Little Catechism of Luther, V. And the Form of Concord, which we shall afterwards notice, compose the Symbolic Books of the Lutheran church. We shall give an account of them in this chapter : VI. Then, notice the Saxonick and Wirtemburgh Confessions, VII. Then, offer some general observations on the Constitution and Liturgy of the Lutheran Church, VIII. And on the difference between the Roman-catholic and Lutheran churches on the Doctrine of Justification. IX. We shall conclude the chapter by an account of some communications between the divines of Wirtemburgh and the patriarch of Constantinople, on the Confession of Augsburgh.

IV. 1.

The Confession of Augsбурgh.

IN 1530, a diet of the German princes was convened by the emperor Charles the fifth, to meet in that city, for the express purpose of pacifying the religious troubles, by which most parts of Germany were then distracted. “ In his journey towards Augsбурgh,” says Dr. Robertson, “ the emperor had many opportunities of observing the dispositions of the Germans, in regard to the points in controversy, and found their minds every where so much irritated and inflamed, that nothing tending to severity or rigour ought to be attempted, till the other methods proved ineffectual. His presence seems to have communicated to all parties an universal spirit of moderation and desire of peace. With such sentiments, the protestant princes employed Melancthon, the man of the greatest learning, as well as the most pacific and gentlest spirit among the reformers, to draw up a confession of faith, expressed in terms as little offensive to the roman catholics, as a regard to truth would admit. Melancthon, who seldom suffered the rancour of controversy to invenom his style, even in writings purely polemical, executed a task, so agreeable to his natural disposition, with moderation and success.”

The best account of this important document, which has come to the knowledge of the writer of

these pages, is the history given of it, and of the transactions with which it is connected, by M. Beausobre, in the eighth book of his History of the Reformation. He speaks, in terms of great praise, of the spirit of conciliation, with which the emperor entered on the business, and which distinguished every part of the conduct of Melancthon. An extract from a letter, written by that eminent reformer, to cardinal Campegio, the pope's legate, is transcribed by Beausobre, and shews how nearly, at one time, matters were considered to be brought to an accommodation. By this letter, Melancthon informs the legate, “ that he and all his party were ready to receive peace on any terms ; that they had no dogma, which differed from the church of Rome ; and that, if they disputed with her, it was only on some articles, which might more properly be referred to the schools : that the reformers had repressed those, who sought to spread pernicious doctrines ; that they were ready to obey the church of Rome, on condition, that she would treat them with that clemency, which she uniformly shewed to all, and connive or relax in some parts of little importance, which it was no longer in the power of the protestants to alter ; that they honoured, with profound respect, the authority of the roman pontiff, and all the ecclesiastical hierarchy ; that all the favour asked by them, was, that the pope would have the goodness not to reject them : that nothing had made them so odious in Germany, as the con-

stancy with which they defended some of the doctrines of the church of Rome ; and finally, that, with the grace of God, they would remain faithful to the last breath, to Jesus Christ and to the church of Rome."

This remarkable letter was accompanied by a memoir, in which it was proposed, " 1st, that the pope would have the goodness to concede to the protestants, communion under both kinds, particularly, as the protestants did not blame those, who communicated in one kind only, and confessed, that the body of Jesus Christ, entire, together with his blood, was received under the sole species of bread. 2dly, That his holiness would allow the marriage of priests. 3dly, That he would allow, or at least tolerate, the marriages already contracted by priests, or other religious persons, and dispense with their vows. As to the mass," say the writers of the memoir, " we retain its principal ceremonies." The distinction of meats and other observances, Melancthon treats as secondary points, to be easily settled.

Beausobre considers the authenticity of the letter and memoir to be unquestionable. " Nor are we," says Beausobre, " to hold Melancthon alone responsible for this relaxation ; as it appears, that the protestant princes declared to the mediators, that, if they would permit communion under both kinds, the marriage of priests, and the celebration of the mass, according to their reformation of it,

and this only till the decision of the council should be obtained on these points, they were willing to obey in the rest.” Beausobre also brings strong reasons to shew, that these propositions were not suggested without the knowledge of Luther. Cardinal Pallavicini, (lib. iii. c. 5.) relates on the authority of a letter of the cardinal legate Campegio, that, “ the parties were on the foot of coming to an agreement, when some injudicious publications, which he mentions, rekindled the discord.” Greatly indeed is it to be lamented, that, where such a general disposition of conciliation appeared, and such near approaches to it were actually made, any thing should have prevented its completion.

When Melancthon had framed the confession, he delivered it to the protestant princes, who attended the diet. It was composed by him, in the German language, and he himself translated it into the Latin. The German was read at the diet, and both the original and translation were delivered to the emperor.

The singular importance of this document of protestant faith, seems to require, in this place, a particular notice of its contents. It consists of twenty-one articles:—In the first, the subscribers of it acknowledge the unity of God, and the trinity of persons: In the second, original sin: In the third, the two natures, and unity of persons in Jesus Christ, and all the other articles contained in

the symbol of the apostles, respecting the Son of God. They declare in the fourth, that men are not justified, before God, by their works and merits, but by the faith which they place in Jesus Christ, when they believe that God forgives their sins out of love for his Son. In the fifth, that the preaching of the gospel, and the sacraments, are the ordinary means, used by God, to infuse the Holy Ghost, who produces faith, whenever he wills, in those, that hear his word. In the sixth, that faith produces the good works, to which men are obliged by the commandments of God. In the seventh, that there exists a perpetual church, which is the assembly of saints ; and that the word of God is taught in it with purity, and the sacraments administered in a legitimate manner ; that the unity of this church consists in uniformity of doctrine and sacraments ; but, that an uniformity of ceremonies is not requisite. In the eighth, they profess, that the word of God, and the sacraments, have still their efficacy, although administered by wicked clergymen. In the ninth, that baptism is requisite for salvation, and that little children ought to be baptized. In the tenth, that, in the sacrament of the last supper, both the body and blood of the Lord are truly present and distributed to those, who partake of it—(The various readings of this article will be mentioned afterwards). In the eleventh, that confession must be preserved in the church, but, without insisting on an exact

enumeration of sins. In the twelfth, that penance consists of contrition and faith, or the persuasion, that, for the sake of Jesus Christ, our sins are forgiven us, on our repentance; and that there is no true repentance, without good works, which are its inseparable fruits. In the thirteenth, that the sacraments are not only signs of the profession of the gospel, but proofs of the love of God to men, which serve to excite and confirm their faith. In the fourteenth, that a vocation is requisite for pastors to teach in the church. In the fifteenth, that those ceremonies ought to be observed, which contribute to keep order and peace in the church; but that the opinion of their being necessary to salvation, or that grace is acquired, or satisfaction done for our sins, by them, must be entirely exploded. In the sixteenth, that the authority of magistrates, their commands and laws, with the legitimate wars, in which they may be forced to engage, are not contrary to the gospel. In the seventeenth, that there will be a judgment, where all men will appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ; and that the wicked will suffer eternal torments. In the eighteenth, that the powers of free will may produce an exterior good conduct, and regulate the morals of men towards society; but that, without the grace of the Holy Ghost, neither faith, regeneration, or true justice can be acquired. In the nineteenth, that God is not the cause of sin, and that it arises solely from the corrupt will of

man. In the twentieth, that good works are necessary and indispensable; but that they cannot purchase the remission of sins, which is only obtained in virtue of the merits of Christ, and in consideration of faith, which, when it is sincere, must produce good works. In the twenty-first, that the virtues of the saints are to be placed before the people, in order to excite imitation; but that the scripture nowhere commands their invocation, or ever speaks of any other mediator than Jesus Christ. "This," say the subscribers of the confession, "is the summary of the doctrine taught amongst us; and it appears, from the exposition which we have just made, that it contains nothing contrary to scripture; and that it agrees with that of the catholic church, and even with the roman church, as far as is known to us, by their writers. This being so, those, who wish that we should be condemned as heretics, are very unjust. If there be any dispute between us, it is not upon articles of faith, but only upon abuses, that have been introduced into the church, and which we reject. This, therefore, is not a sufficient reason to authorise the bishops not to tolerate us, since we are agreed in the tenets of faith, which we have set forth: there never has been an exact uniformity of exterior practices, since the beginning of the church; and we preserve the greater part of the established usages. It is therefore a calumny to say, that we have abolished them all. But, as all the world

complained of the abuses, that had crept into the church, we have corrected those only, which we could not tolerate with a good conscience ; and we entreat your Majesty to hear, what the abuses are, which we have retrenched, and the reasons we had for doing it. We also entreat, that our inveterate enemies, whose hatred and calumnies are the principal cause of the evil, may not be believed.”

They then proceed to state the abuses in the church of Rome, of which they complain. The first is the denial of the cup in the sacrament of the Lord’s supper—the second, the celibacy of the clergy—the third, the form of the mass. On this head their language is very remarkable: “Our churches,” they say, “are unjustly accused of having abolished the mass, since they celebrate it with great veneration: they even preserve almost all the accustomed ceremonies, having only added a few German hymns to the latter, in order that the people may profit by them.” But they object to the multiplicity of masses, and to the payment of any money to a priest for saying them.—The fourth abuse of which they complain, is the practice of auricular confession: but, they observe, that they have only taken from it the penitent’s obligation to make to the priest a particular enumeration of his sins; and that they had retained confession itself, and the obligation of receiving absolution from the priest. The fifth abuse, is the injunction of abstinence from particular meats.

Monastic vows they represent as the sixth abuse. The seventh and last abuse of which they complain, is that of ecclesiastical power. They say that “a view of the attempts of the popes to excommunicate princes, and dispose of their states, led them to examine and fix the distinction between the secular and ecclesiastical power, to enable themselves to give to Cæsar, what belongs to Cæsar, and to the popes and bishops, what belongs to them:”— That “ecclesiastical power, or the power of the keys, which Jesus Christ gave to his church, consisted only of the power of preaching the gospel, of administering the sacraments, the forgiveness of sins, and refusing absolution to a false penitent:— Therefore,” say they, “neither pope nor bishops have any power to dispose of kingdoms, to abrogate the laws of magistrates, or prescribe to them rules for their government;” and that, “if there did exist bishops, who had the power of the sword, they derived this power from their quality of temporal sovereigns, and not from their episcopal character, or from divine right, but as a power conceded to them by kings or emperors.”

It is not a little remarkable, that considerable differences, or various readings, are to be found in the printed copy of this important document; and that it is far from certain, which copy should be considered the authentic edition. The German copies, printed in 1530, in quarto and octavo, and the Latin edition printed in quarto in 1531, are in

request among bibliographical amateurs ; but there is a verbal, and, in some instances, a material discrepancy among them. The Wittenburgh edition, of 1540, is particularly esteemed ; and has been adopted by the publishers of the *Sylloge Confessionum*, printed in 1804, at the Clarendon press. One of the most important of these various readings occurs in the tenth article. In some of the editions which preceded that of 1540, it is expressed, " that the body and blood of Christ are truly present, and distributed to those, who partake of our Lord's supper ; and the contrary doctrine is reprobated." The edition of 1540 expresses, that, " with the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ are truly given to those who partake of our Lord's supper." This difference is noticed in the edition of the Confessions at the Clarendon press.

" In the Confession of Augsburg," says Dr. Maclaine, the learned translator of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, " there are three sorts of articles ; one, orthodox, and adopted by the roman catholics and protestants ; another, that consists of certain propositions, which the papal party considered as ambiguous and obscure ; and a third, in which the doctrine of Luther was entirely opposite to that of Rome. This gave some reason to hope, that, by the means of certain qualifications and modifications, conducted mutually by a spirit of candour and charity, matters might be accommodated

at last. For this purpose, select persons were appointed to carry on the salutary work ; at first, seven from each party, consisting of princes, lawyers, and divines ; which number was afterwards reduced to three. Luther's obstinate, stubborn, and violent temper, rendering him unfit for healing divisions, he was not employed in these conferences ; but he was constantly consulted by the protestant party.”

The Confession was read, at a full meeting of the diet, by the chancellor of the elector of Saxony. It was subscribed by that elector, and three other princes of the German empire, and then delivered to the emperor.

IV. 2.

The Apology of the Confession of Augsburgh.

JOHN FÄBER, afterwards archbishop of Vienna, and two other roman-catholic divines, composed an answer to the Confession : Melancthon replied to their answers by his defence of the Confession of Augsburgh, *Apologia Confessionis Augustanæ*. Two editions of this apology, one in quarto, the other in octavo, were published by him in 1531 ; the former edition is preferred. It was composed in the Latin language, and immediately translated into the German. The curious should acquire both the quarto and octavo Latin editions, and the German translation ; as, in all of them, there are

various readings. Doctor Semler says, that the variations, in the German translation, were made with the privity of Melancthon. He also intimates, that Faber's answer, which produced the Apology, was not published till 1572, when it was published in the German language. It appeared in Latin in the following year. (*D. Is. Semleri Apparatus in Libros Symbolicos Ecclesiae Lutheranæ, Halæ Magdeburgicæ, 1775, oct. § 84.*)

IV. 3.

The Articles of Smalcald.

THE Confession of Augsburgh and its defence were followed, at a distance of some years, by the articles of Smalcald, drawn up by Luther, on the occasion of a meeting of the protestant princes in that city.

They were framed by Luther, and exhibit a striking contrast between the Doric eloquence of that reformer, and the Ionic gentleness of Melancthon. In the Confession, and its defence, every harsh expression was avoided ; and great reserve observed in the mention of the Pope. In the articles of Smalcald, it is explicitly declared, that, " the Pope is not of divine right ; that the power, which he has usurped, is full of arrogance and blasphemy ; that all which he has done, and does, in virtue of that power, is diabolical ; that the church can, and ought, to subsist without having a chief ;

that though the pope should own that he is not of divine right, but that he was established solely for keeping up, more conveniently, the unity of Christians against the sectaries, nothing good would come from such an authority ; and that the best method of governing and preserving the church, is, that all bishops, though unequal in gifts, should be equal in their ministry under one chief, who is Jesus Christ ; and finally, that the pope is the true anti-christ. The subscriptions to these articles are preserved. Melancthon was among the subscribers ; but widely differing from Luther in his opinion of the pope, he expressed his subscription in the following terms : “ I, Philip Melancthon, approve the preceding articles, as pious and charitable. As to the pope, my opinion is, that, if he would receive the Gospel, for the peace and common tranquillity of those, who now are, or hereafter shall be, under him, we might accord to him the superiority over the bishops ; which he now holds of common right ” —a sentiment subsequently expressed both by Grotius and Leibnitz. The earliest and most approved edition of the articles of Smalcald, is in the German language, and was printed in 1538.

It was intended that they should be presented at the general council, then convened at Mantua, and afterwards held at Trent. With this view they were translated into Latin.

IV. 4.

The Catechisms of Luther.

LONG before the publication of any of the books we have mentioned, the Great and Less Catechisms of Luther made their appearance. Both of them were printed in the year 1529; which first issued from the press is a question much agitated by lutheran bibliographers.

IV. 5.

The Form of Concord.

To the books which we have mentioned, many lutheran churches add the Form of Concord. It is also called, from the place in which it was composed, the book of Torgau. Its object was to effect an amicable adjustment of the differences among the lutherans; and to preserve their churches against the opinions of the reformed churches in relation to the eucharist. With this view, Andreæ, a distinguished theologian of the lutheran communion, with the assistance of several other theologians of the same party, composed, in 1576, this document. It was sent by the elector of Saxony to the lutheran princes, for their examination. By some, it was approved; by others, rejected; and it was censured by many theologians. This engaged the compilers to review and correct

it ; and, from the document, thus new-modelled, the Form of Concord, as it now stands, was originally drawn : it was published in 1579 ; produced much disturbance ; was rejected by all the reformed, and some of the lutheran divines : and even the authenticity of the document was questioned, as the printed copies were stated to differ, in many places, from the manuscript copy, which had been approved. Dr. Maclaine, (Mos. Ecc. Hist. cent. xvi. sect. 3. p. 2. n. c.), charges it with a spirit of intolerance, and accuses the lutheran divines of calling to its aid the terrors of the sword. The best edition is that of Dresden, in 1580. The best account of it is to be found in Hospinian's *Concordia discors. Tigur. MDCVII.*, and Hutter's *Concordia Concors. Wittemb. MDCXIV.*, *in folio*, reprinted in the following year, at Leipsic, in the 4to. size. By the former, it is ably attacked ; by the latter, ably defended. It is the latest of the lutheran formularies.

The Confession of Augsбурgh, its defence by Melancthon, the Articles of Smalcald, and the Great and Little Catechism of Luther, and, in many lutheran churches, the Form of Concord, are the standard books of the lutherans. They have often been printed together ; and in Germany, are universally known by the appellation of the *Symbolic Books of the Lutherans.*

IV. 6.

The Saxon and Wirtemburgh Confessions.

IT remains to mention some Confessions of Faith, which accord generally with the Symbolic Books of the Lutherans, and are greatly respected by them; but which, except in particular places, do not possess the authority of Smybolic Books. These are the Saxon, Wirtemburgian, Suabian, Pomeranian, Mansfeldian, Antwerpensian, and Copenhagen Confessions. The two first only of these deserve a particular mention.

1. It was the earnest wish of the emperor Charles the fifth, that the protestant princes of the empire, and their theologians, should attend the Council of Trent. On certain terms, they offered to attend it; but these terms were refused. While the measure was in agitation, they prepared confessions of faith, to be presented to the councel. The principal of these is, *the Saxon*. It was composed by Melancthon, by the order of Maurice, on whom the emperor had recently conferred the electorate of Saxony. A numerous meeting of theologians from that electorate was convened at Leipsic: there, the confession was unanimously approved: it was received, with the same unanimity, by the churches of Pomerania and Strasburgh. It was published in Latin in 1552; and in German in the same year. From the first of these editions,

the edition at the Clarendon press is printed. The title which it received from Melanethon himself, is, “*Repetitio Augustanae Confessionis, sive ut dicitur Confessio doctrinæ Saxoniarum ecclesiarum, Synodo, tridentino oblata, anno MDLI. in quā, christiane lector, videbis, quinam ex Catholicæ, ecclesiae gremio resilierint, et per quos stet, quo minus ecclesiae pia concordia sanciatur, MDLII.*”

2. Brentius, the most celebrated, after Melanethon, of the followers of Luther, was the author of the *Confession of Wirtemburg*. Christopher, duke of Wirtemburg, by whose direction it was composed, declared, in the preface, that it was an abridgment of the Confession of Augs-
burgh. Its title is, *Confessio piæ doctrinæ, quæ, nomine illustrissimi principis Christophori, ducis Virtembergensis, per legatos ejus, die 24 mensis Januarii, anno 1552, congregationi tri- dentinæ proposita est. Tübingen MDLII.* There are, however, some important variations between each of these creeds and the Confession of Augs-
burgh.

Both these Confessions of Faith were presented at the council; and the persons charged with them by the elector of Saxony and the duke of Wirtemburg, were honourably received and treated. (Fra. Paolo, lib. 8.).

IV. 7.

The Constitution and Liturgy of the Lutheran Church.

IN the lutheran creed, the supreme civil ruler of every state is clothed with the dignity, and performs the functions, of supremacy in the church. Its hierarchy, except in Denmark and Sweden, does not allow of bishops, but admits of a considerable subordination of rank and privilege among the ministers of the church. Thus, it equally recedes from episcopacy and presbyterianism ; and, in its observance of some of the feasts and fasts, and its retention of some of the ceremonies of the roman catholics, it keeps a middle place between presbyterianism and the church of Rome. Its liturgy, like that of the church of Rome, consists of psalms and lessons taken from the Old and New Testament ; and of hymns and prayers. On the doctrine of the eucharist, they hold, that the partaker of the Lord's supper receives, together with the bread and wine, the real body and real blood of Christ.

IV. 8.

Difference between the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches on the doctrine of Justification.

“ BUT the justification of the sinner,” to use Luther's own language, “ was the principle and

source, from which all his doctrine flowed." So great, in his opinion, was the importance of this article of christian faith, that he thought himself warranted in asserting, that, " while the doctrine upon it was pure, there would be no reason to fear either schism or division ; but that, if the true doctrine of justification were altered, it would be impossible to oppose error, or stop the progress of fanaticism." (Luth. Op. Ed. Jenæ 1561, T. 6. p. 13. Ib. T. 3. p. 189.). It is far from the object of these pages to enter into any thing like controversial discussion ; but, the writer thinks his readers will not be displeased to find in this place, an accurate statement of the doctrines of the roman catholic and lutheran churches upon this important tenet of their respective creeds. It is expressed, with extreme accuracy, in a work highly celebrated on the continent, "*Lettres d'un Docteur Catholique à un Protestant, sur les Principaux Points de Controverse. Rouen, 1769. Deuxieme Lettre, sur la justification.*" The writer of these letters begins that, which relates to the point in question, by observing to his lutheran correspondent, that, " if there were a point, on which persons have disputed with warmth, and without sufficiently understanding one another, on either side, it must be acknowledged, that the question on the justification of a sinner, is a point of that description."

" You teach," he proceeds to observe, " that

the sinner is solely justified by faith ; that, after having offended God, and lost his grace, we obtain the remission of our sins, and are restored to the friendship of God, by means only of an act of faith :—every other act of virtue, as acts of contrition, good resolution, hope, charity, &c. having, as you pretend, no part in the sinner's justification.

“ Now, to form a just idea of that faith, which you maintain to be the only means of reconciling us with God, it is to be remarked, that it is not the faith, which is understood by that word, in its common acceptation ; that is to say, a general faith, by which we believe all that God has revealed to us. You require, that it should be a special faith, on the merits of Christ ; and this faith, as your doctors explain it, contains first, an act of the *understanding*, by which we acknowledge, that Jesus Christ has died for us ; that he has fully satisfied for our sins ; and that he presents to us his merits, his satisfactions, and his remission of our sins : and secondly, an act of the *will*, by which we accept all this, in applying and appropriating to ourselves what is offered to us, by Jesus Christ,—I mean his merits and the remission of our sins.

“ It is, however, necessary, that we do you the justice to acknowledge, that you require justifying faith to be fruitful in good works ; for you declare explicitly, that if faith be not accompanied by good works, it is not a true faith ; that we must be careful to avoid imagining, that justifying faith can subsist

with a wish to persist in sin ; that, those, who have not contrition, and are resolved to continue to live in their disorders, have not the faith which justifies and saves them. Luther's expression is, ' Faith and good works are inseparably connected ; it is faith only which justifies, but justifying faith is never single, and without good works.'

" *We* believe,—First, that faith, taken in the ordinary sense of that word, that is, for the virtue which makes us believe revealed truths, is absolutely necessary for the justification of the sinner. We are fully persuaded, that no works done before faith, or without faith, by the mere strength of free-will, or human reason, can have any part in the justification of the sinner.

" Secondly,—*We* believe that faith alone does not suffice to justify the sinner ; that, in addition to it, there must be a sincere sorrow for sin, a firm resolution not to relapse into it, a salutary fear of the judgments of God, with a true confidence in the merits of Jesus Christ, and in the divine mercy.

" Thirdly,—*We* believe, that, though the sinner may obtain the grace of justification, in bringing the dispositions which I have mentioned, still he cannot merit them ; so that he is justified, gratuitously, by the pure mercy of God, and solely, in the view of the merits of Jesus Christ. I explain myself :—the sinner, after he has lost the grace of God, can do nothing, which is sufficiently agreeable to God, to entitle him to be restored to his friendship.

All the good works which he does, in such a state, are dead ; and of too little value to exact from the divine justice, that the grace of reconciliation should be restored to him, as the fruit of his works. When God justifies us, by restoring his friendship to us, it is not in consequence of the goodness of our works ; it is solely in consequence of the infinite price of the passion and death of Jesus Christ ; it is gratuitously ; it is from the pure effect of his mercy, that he applies to us the fruit of the merits and the infinite satisfaction of his Son. It is true, that God requires certain works, without which he does not justify the sinner ; and in consequence of which, he does justify him : but he does not require them as meritorious works ; he requires them as conditions, or as necessary dispositions, without which he does not receive the sinner into favour, or admit him to participate in the merits of Jesus Christ, as to their effects in the remission of sins. According to the doctrine of the Council of Trent, (*Sess. VI. c. 8.*) nothing that precedes justification, either of faith or works, can merit the grace of justification.

“ Fourthly,—*We* believe, that though the sinner can only owe his justification to the merits of Jesus Christ, yet the merits of Jesus Christ are not the formal justice of the person justified :—he is not just of the justice of Jesus Christ ; *that* is extrinsic to him. He is just, by an inherent justice, —a justice which, at the same time, is the justice

of God, and the justice of man ;—the justice of man, because, having obtained it of the divine liberality, it is within him, and not out of him ;—the justice of God, because it comes from God alone ; he alone gives it to the sinner, by a pure effect of his mercy, gratuitously, and only in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, the sinner being altogether unable, on his part, to merit the justice by any imaginable work, whatever it may be.”

We leave the reader to his own reflections :—if he be a roman catholic, he must concede to the protestant, that he believes no sinner to be justified without good works ; if he be a protestant, he must concede to the catholic, that he believes no good works of the sinner entitle him to justification ; and whether he be a roman-catholic or a protestant, he must concede to both, that they equally believe, that, where either faith or good works are wanting, the sinner will not be justified,—still, that his justification is not owing either to his faith or his good works, or to both : for though these abound, still would not the sinner be justified, if it were not for the infinite mercy of God, and the infinite merits and satisfaction of his Son.—The author of the letters, to which the writer of these pages has referred, was father Scheffmacker, a jesuit of Strasburgh. The reader, whatever be his creed, will be delighted with their truly christian politeness, elegance and perspicuity.

IV. 9.

Communication between the divines of Wirtemburgh and the patriarch of Constantinople, on the Confession of Augsburgh.

THE confession of Augsburgh, and the other symbolic books of the Lutherans, have been translated into every European language, and made the subject of innumerable commentaries. *The Bibliotheca Symbolica Evangelica Lutherana of Feverlinus, Gottingen, 1752, 8vo.* gives the titles of 1,185 works, relating to the symbolic books, 204 relating to the discipline, and 145 relating to the catechisms of the lutheran church. One of the most important translations of the Confession of Augsburgh, is that in modern Greek, which in 1574 was sent, under the direction of some lutheran ministers of Wirtemburgh, to Jeremias, the patriarch of Constantinople. The translation was accompanied by a letter, in which the Wirtemburgh divines expressed their hopes, that, “ though, on account of the distance of their countries, there was some difference of ceremonies between them, the patriarch would acknowledge, that they had introduced no innovation into the principal things necessary to salvation; and that they embraced and preserved, as far as their intelligence reached, the faith which had been taught them by the

Apostles, the Prophets, and the holy Fathers ; and inspired by the Holy Spirit, the seven councils, and the holy scriptures.” The different readings of that article of the Confession of Augsбурgh, which relates to the real presence, have been noticed. In the translation of the Confession, which was sent to the patriarch, it was expressed in the following terms, “ Touching the supper of the Lord, they teach, that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are there truly present, and are distributed to those who participate ; and they condemn those who teach the contrary.”

The patriarch’s answer, so far as it relates to this article, is expressed in the following terms : “ The tenth article treats of the Lord’s supper ; and, to say the truth, with some obscurity ; for they report to us on this point some things of you, which we disapprove. The catholic church teaches, that the bread is changed into the very body and the very blood of the Lord ; but it is necessary, that the bread should be leavened, not unleavened. For the Lord, in the night, in which he was betrayed, having taken bread and given thanks, brake it, and said, take and eat. He does not tell them, ‘ this is unleavened bread,’ or ‘ the figure of my body ;’ but ‘ *this* is my body.’ It is not, that the flesh which our Saviour bore, was given to his disciples to eat, or his blood to drink ; or that the Lord descends from heaven in the divine mysteries : for this would be blasphemy : but it is, that then, at

our Lord's supper, and now, in our sacrifice, by the invocation and grace of the all-powerful Spirit, which operates it, and by the holy prayers and words of the Lord, the bread is changed and converted into the very body of the Lord, and the wine into his very blood." In their reply to the patriarch Jeremias, the divines of Wirtemburgh state separately the points, in which they agreed, and the points in which they differed. On the real presence, they tell him, that they agree with him in believing, that "the body and blood of Jesus Christ are truly present in the holy supper; but that they do not believe, that the bread is changed into the body of Jesus Christ." To this reply the patriarch answered. Another reply and another answer followed. The Wirtemburgh divines afterwards published the whole correspondence, under the title, "*Acta et Scripta Theologorum Wirtemburgensium et Patriarchæ Constantiopolitani D. Hieremiæ, quæ utriusque ab anno MDLXXVI, usque ad annum MDLXXXI, de Augustanâ Confessione, inter se miserunt, græce et latine ab iisdem theologis edita. Wert. MDLXXXIV. Fol.*" The consequences to be drawn from the correspondence were a subject of warm dispute between *M. Claude* and the authors of the *Perpetuité de la Foy*.

CHAP. V.

THE SYMBOLIC BOOKS OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES.

THE Reformed Church, in the largest extent of that expression, comprises all the religious communities, which have separated from the Church of Rome. In this sense, it is often used by English writers: but, having been used by the French protestants to describe their church, it afterwards became the appellation of all the calvinistical churches on the continent. In this sense it is used in the present pages. They will give some account, I. of the Helvetic, II. Tetrapolitan, III. Heidelberg, IV. Gallic, V. and Belgic Confession of Faith, and VI. of the canons at the Synod of Dort.

V. 1.

The Helvetic Confession.

THE founder of the reformed church was Ulric Zuingle, a man of great learning and acuteness of mind.

It was his opinion, that Luther's scheme of reformation fell very short of the extent to which it ought to have been carried. Under the impression we have mentioned, and with a view, as he termed

it, of restoring the church to its original purity, Zuingle sought to abolish many doctrines and rites of the roman-catholic church, which Luther had retained. In some points of doctrine, he also differed from Luther, and his opinion on the real presence made a complete separation between them. Luther, as we have repeatedly mentioned, held that, together with the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ were really present in the eucharist. Zuingle held, that the bread and wine were only *signs* and *symbols* of the *absent* body and blood of Christ ; so that the eucharistic rite was merely a pious and solemn ceremony, to bring it to the remembrance of the faithful. The opinions of Zuingle were adopted in Switzerland, and several neighbouring nations. They gave rise to the most violent animosities between the favourers of them, and the disciples of Luther. Frequent advances to peace were made by the zuinglians : Luther uniformly rejected them with sternness. He declared an union to be impossible : he called them “ ministers of Satan.” When they entreated him to consider them as brothers, “ What fraternity,” he exclaimed, “ do you ask with me, if you persist in your belief?” On one occasion, the ingenuity of Bucer enabled him to frame a creed, which each party, construing the words in his own sense, might sign. This effected a temporary truce ; but the division soon broke out with fresh animosity : “ Happy,” exclaimed Luther, “ is the

man, who has not been of the council of the Sacra-
mentarians ; who has not walked in the ways of
the Zuinglians."

There are several Confessions of the Helvetic
faith.

The first is entitled "The Confession of Faith
of the inhabitants of Bâsle." The first edition of
it was printed, in 1530, at Bâsle, in the German
language. The second, is called "the Summary
and general Confession of Faith of the Helvetian
churches : *Ecclesiarum per Helvetiam, Confessio
Fidei summaria et generalis.*" It was printed at
Bâsle, in 1536, and presented to the council of
Trent. The third, which is principally considered
and generally styled "the Helvetic Confession of
Faith," is the "*Confessio et Expositio simplex
orthodoxæ fidei et dogmatum catholicorum sinceræ
religionis Christianæ, concorditer ab ecclesiæ
ministris, qui sunt in Helvetiâ, Tiguri, Berni,
Scaphusii, Gangalli, Curiæ-Rhætorum, et apud
confederatos, Mylhusii, item et Biennæ quibus
adjunixerunt se et Genevensis ecclesiæ ministri,
editæ.*" It was composed in 1566, by Bullinger,
under the particular direction of the Elector Pal-
tine. Some writers have asserted, that the Elector
was its real author. With the exception of Bâsle,
it was adopted by all the Helvetic and Rhætian
cities, which had embraced the reformation. The
divines of Bâsle refused to sign it ; not because
they objected to the doctrine which it contained,

but because, in their opinion, their previous subscription of their own creed, in 1530, rendered it unnecessary. It is greatly esteemed by all the reformed churches, and is particularly curious, from its generally expressing the Zuinglian creed, before it was newly modelled by Calvin. It is the first of the confessions in the *Sylloge Confessionum*, printed at the Clarendon press.

V. 2.

The Tetrapolitan Confession.

THIS confession was signed by the four cities of Strasburgh, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau; and is supposed to have been written by Bucer. It was first published in the German language, in 1531, at Strasburgh. It was also published at Strasburgh in Latin, in the same year. In some instances, particularly in respect to the eucharistic sacrifice, it conforms to the doctrine of Zwingli; for though, in the tenth article, it may be thought to express the doctrines of Luther on the real presence, this seems explained away in the apology, which accompanies the Latin translation. It was presented to the emperor at the Diet of Augsburgh, and, by his direction, a confutation of it was immediately published. A curious account of this confession is to be found in Schelhornius's *Amœnitates Literariæ*, tom. 6. p. 305. The title of the Latin edition is, “*Confessio Religionis Christianæ. Imp. Car. V.*

in Comitiis Aug. 1530 per legatos civitatum Argentorati, Constantiae, Memmingae, et Lindaniæ exhibitæ, 4to. ”

V. 3.

The Confession of Faith, or Catechism of Heidelberg.

THE intervention of Calvin gave a new aspect to the creed and religious institutions of the Reformed. The church of Geneva being placed under his direction, he conceived one of the boldest projects that ever entered into the mind of an obscure individual. He undertook to new model the religious creed of the reformed church ; to give it strength and consistency ; and to render the church of Geneva the mistress and mother of all the protestant churches. His learning, eloquence, and talents for business, soon attracted general notice ; and while the fervor of his zeal, the austerity of his manners, and the devotional cast of his writings, attracted the multitude, the elegance of his compositions, and his insinuating style, captivated the gentleman and the scholar. By degrees, his fame reached every part of Europe ; and, having prevailed on the senate of Geneva to found an academy, and place it under his direction, and having filled it with men, eminent throughout Europe, for their learning and talents, it became the general resort of persons, who leaned to the

new principles, and sought for religious or literary instruction. From Germany, France, Italy, England, and Scotland, numbers crowded to the new academy, and returned from it to their respective countries, saturated with the theological lore of Geneva, and burning with zeal to propagate its creed.

In five articles it materially differs from the creed of Zuingle. 1st. In the eucharist, Zuingle supposed only a symbolical or figurative presence of the body and blood of Christ. Calvin maintained, that when the true christian received the sacrament with a lively faith, he was united indescribably, but really, to Jesus Christ incarnate ; and that, to him, Jesus Christ was therefore *really*, though not *corporeally*, present in the Sacrament. Thus, when he advocated the reality of the presence, he seemed to hold the language of Luther ; when he denied the corporeal presence, he seemed to hold the language of Zuingle : this gained him proselytes from both. 2dly. With the abstruse doctrines of fate and free-will, Zuingle had not meddled. Less wise than Zuingle, Calvin plunged into the abyss. The absolute decree of God, with respect to the future and everlasting condition of the human race, was an essential tenet in his creed. He maintained, without any qualification, that God, in predestinating from all eternity one part of mankind to everlasting happiness, and the other to everlasting misery, was led to make this distinction by no other

motive than his own good pleasure and free-will, 3dly. Zuingle subjected the clergy to the control of the magistrate ; Calvin made the clergy almost independent. 4thly. Zuingle admitted a considerable degree of subordination in the hierarchy ; Calvin admitted none in theory, and little in practice ; and, in direct opposition to Zuingle, held, that all ministers of the church were perfectly equal. This gave his form of ecclesiastical government its own appellation of Presbyterian.

From the circumstances which have been mentioned, Geneva soon acquired the first rank among the reformed churches. The second place was formerly assigned to the reformed church of the palatinate. In 1560, Frederick, the third elector palatine of that name, established the reformed religion in his territories. His son substituted the lutheran in its stead ; but John Casimer, who succeeded the son of Frederick, restored, in 1583, the discipline of the reformed church ; and it acquired so much consideration, that the “Form of Instruction,” which was composed for the use of John Casimer, under the title of “*The Catechism of Heidelberg,*” was almost universally adopted by the calvinists. The first edition of it was published in 1563, and holds its place in the *Sylloge Confessionum*, printed at the Clarendon press.

V. 4.

The Gallic Confession of Faith.

THE doctrines of Luther soon penetrated into France. But, after the Institutions of Calvin had obtained a legal settlement at Geneva, his creed and discipline, insensibly made their way into that kingdom ; and were adopted, almost universally, by those French, who separated from the communion of the see of Rome. The first synod of the reformed in France was held in 1559 ; there, a confession of faith was adopted. It was printed in the same year ; and this edition is in great request among the curious, as none of the translations, or subsequent editions, express it with perfect accuracy. At the memorable conference of Poissi, in 1551, the celebrated Theodore Beza presented this confession of faith to Charles the ninth. Being afterwards presented, in great form, to that monarch by the queen dowager of Navarre, Henry the fourth, then king of Navarre, Henry prince of Condé, Lewis count of Nassau, admiral Coligni, and several other persons of distinction, it acquired the character and importance of a symbolic book.

V. 5.

The Belgic Confession of Faith.

AT an early period of the reformation, the new doctrines reached the Netherlands. Some, who

favoured them, adopted the principles of Zuingle ; others, those of the reformed churches of France. At the meeting of the states in 1571, for renewing their federation, the system of Calvin was publicly received, and the Belgic confession of faith approved. It is observable, that the lutherans were considered, by the government of Spain, to be better subjects than the calvinists. On this account, the Dutch protestants, as long as they were subject to Spain, avoided the title of Reformed, and styled themselves “Associates of the Brethren of the Confession of Augsburgh.” But, at the time of their federation, they assumed the title of Reformed, and generally signed the Belgic Confession of Faith. It has been translated into most of the languages of Europe, and even into the Arabic. It was composed in French, and first published in 1561. A translation of it into the Flemish language was printed in 1579. A Latin translation is published by the editors of the *Sylloge Confessionum*, printed at the Clarendon press.

V. 6.

The Canons of the Synod of Dort.

THE Synod of Dort was convened to compose the troubles occasioned by the celebrated Arminian controversy.

Arminius, professor of Divinity at Leyden, had received his theological education at Geneva.

After much profound meditation on the abstruse subject of predestination, he became dissatisfied with Calvin's doctrine of the absolute decrees of God, in respect to the salvation and perdition of man ; and, while he admitted the eternal prescience of the Deity, he held, with the roman-catholic church, that no mortal is rendered finally unhappy, by an eternal and invincible decree ; and that the misery of those who perish comes from themselves. Many, who were eminent for their talents and learning, and some, who filled high situations in Holland, embraced his opinions ; but, apparently, at least, a great majority sided against them. The most active of these was Gomar, the colleague of Arminius in the professorship. Unfortunately, politics entered into the controversy. Most of the friends of Arminius were of the party which opposed the politics of the prince of Orange ; while, generally, the adversaries of Arminius were favourable to the views of that prince. Barneveldt and Grotius, two of the most respectable partizans of Arminius, were thrown into prison for their supposed practices against the state. The former perished on the scaffold ; the latter, by his wife's address, escaped from prison. While these disturbances were at the highest, Arminius died.

On his decease, the superintendance of the party devolved to Episcopius, who was, at that time, professor of theology at Leyden, and universally esteemed for his learning, his judgment, and his

eloquence. The arminian cause prospering under him; the opposite party took the alarm, and, in 1618, a synod was called at Dort, by the direction, and under the influence, of prince Maurice. It was attended by deputies from the United Provinces; and from the churches of England, Hesse, Bremen, Switzerland, and the Palatinate.

The synod adopted the Belgic confession, decided in favour of absolute decrees, and excommunicated the arminians. Its canons were published under the title of *Judicium Synodi nationalis reformatarum ecclesiarum habiti Dordrechii anno 1618 et 1619, de quinque doctrinæ capitibus, in ecclesiis Belgicis, controversis: Promulgatum VI. Maii MDCXIX. 4to.* It concludes the *Sylloge Confessionum*, printed at the Clarendon press.

CHAP. VI.

THE SYMBOLIC BOOKS OF THE WALDENSES.

FEW works are more wanted, or, if executed by a religious, learned, and philosophic pen, would be more interesting or instructive, than a history of the second appearance of the Manichæans in the west, and the important consequences, both in church and state, with which it was attended.

It is known to every learned reader, that, some

time after the death of Manes, the European manichæans retreated, and carried their doctrines with them into the east. They returned into Europe about the beginning of the ninth century ; and, during that and the following centuries, they and their disciples, under various appellations, as Paulicians, Albigenses, Bogards, and Brethren of the Free Spirit, spread themselves over Europe, in several sects, equally hostile to the church and state.

The Waldenses are of a different extraction, and the horrid principles, with which the sects of manichæan extraction have been charged, cannot with justice be imputed to the disciples of Waldo. The same exception may be made in favour of some other denominations of christians, who, during the period we have mentioned, separated from the church of Rome. But, in the course of time, some portions of these adopted, in a greater or less degree, several of the obnoxious principles of the manichæans ; so that, speaking generally, the two following opinions prevailed in most of their communities ; that the individual possession of worldly goods is unlawful ; and that no person in office, either in church or state, can validly exercise his functions, if he be not in the state of grace. It is obvious that the practical results of these opinions are equally inconsistent with the tranquillity of the state, and the settlement of the church, and lead to the greatest excesses.

Soon after the Reformation, a curious correspondence took place between the waldenses and C^ocolampadius. It is to be found in Scultet's *Annales Evangelii renovati, (Hist. Lit. Reformationis; Harmanni Von der Hart, p. 160.)* The consequence was, that some time after calvinism was established at Geneva, it was embraced by the waldenses; but they retained with it a considerable part of their tenets and discipline. In the year 1630, a plague having broke out, which destroyed a great proportion of their clergy, they applied for spiritual succour, to the reformed churches of France, and insensibly adopted their creed, rites and discipline.

The original and reformed creeds of the waldenses may be seen in LEGER, *Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises*, lib. 1. c. 17, and in BOYER, *Abrégué de l' Histoire des Vaudois*, c. 2. p. 15, and in the valuable *History of the Waldenses*, recently published by Mr. JONES. Lamenting that he has not had time to give the last of these works, the full consideration, to which it is entitled, the writer of these pages acknowledges with pleasure, that he finds in it, great reason for doubting, whether any principles, hostile to society or government, are justly chargeable on the waldenses or John Huss. The massacre of the waldenses at Merindole and Cabrieres was atrocious, and nothing can be urged to justify, or rather to extenuate the burning of John Huss, except the

existing laws and prejudices of the times, and the long continuance of them, after the Reformation ; but it appears clear to the writer, that the safe conduct granted to John Huss was not violated. The subject is ably and fully discussed by Dr. Hay, a roman-catholic prelate in Scotland, in his publication entitled, *An Answer to W. A. D.'s Letter to G. H. in which the conduct of government, in mitigating the penal laws against papists, is justified, &c.* Edinburgh, 1778, 8vo. It exhausts the subject, and should be read by every person, who argues against the tenets of the roman-catholic religion, from any proceeding at the council of Constance.

CHAP. VII.

THE SYMBOLIC BOOKS OF THE BOHEMIANS.

BEFORE the reformation, Bohemia was a scene of great religious dispute. On the death of the celebrated John Huss, his followers retired to a mountain, in the district of Bohemia, and called it Tabor. Under Ziska, their first chief, and Rasa, his successor, they maintained a fierce war against their sovereign ; and justified it on the ground, that Huss was innocent of the heresies with which he was charged, and was therefore unjustly put to

death; but they unaccountably admitted, as an incontestible principle, that real heretics were worthy of punishment. From a mountain, on which they fixed their head quarters, they were called Taborites. Splitting into parties, one party retained this appellation, the other was called Calixtines: both required the cup for the laity; but, while the latter would have been satisfied with the cup, and a gentle correction of abuse, the former insisted on a total alteration of church discipline, and an unqualified restoration of it to what they considered its pristine simplicity. The calixtines were disposed to peace; the taborites breathed nothing but war. "They had imbibed," says Mosheim, "the most barbarous sentiments, with respect to the obligation of fixing vengeance on their enemies, against whom they breathed nothing but vengeance and fury, without any mixture of humanity or compassion." In 1433, the council of Basil sent *Æneas Sylvius* and other legates, to confer with them. By allowing the cup to the laity, in the administration of the sacrament, the legates reconciled the calixtines to the roman pontiff; but the taborites remained inflexible: by degrees, however, they grew tired of the war, and insensibly retired to the peaceful occupations of trade and agriculture. A confession of the faith of the calixtines, and a confession of faith of the taborites were signed at the synod of Cuttenburgh, in 1441. They are inserted in

l'Enfan's Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites et du Concile de Basle. T. 2, p. 119, 132. A confession of the Bohemians is inserted in the “*Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches, published at Cambridge in 1580.*”

The taborites, however, after their retirement from the war, persisted, but with greater moderation, in their projects of reform: and in 1522, having heard of Luther's reformation, sent a considerable number of deputies to him, to solicit his friendship and good offices. On many subsequent occasions, they shewed an attachment to the Saxon churches.

Previously to their signing the *Confession of Faith* which has been mentioned, they had signed one in 1532, in the Bohemian language. This is extremely rare: it was afterwards translated into Latin, with the title, *Confessio Fidei ac Religionis Baronum ac Nobilium regni Bohemiæ, Serenissimo ac invictissimo Romanorum, Bohemiæ, &c. regi; Viennæ, Austriæ, sub anno domini 1535, oblata.* It is to be found in the *Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum Fidei, Pars II.* Luther prefixed to it a preface, not approving it entirely, but approving the greatest part of it; and considering that the rest might be tolerated. Two editions of it were published by them, one in German, in 1572, the other in Latin, in 1612.

After the death of Luther, most of the Bohemians veered to calvinism. They then became dissatisfied with their former creed ; and, it is said, destroyed all the copies of their confession, which fell into their hands.

The disputes increasing, and Poland and Switzerland being equally disturbed by them, a congress was held, of the Bohemian brethren, the Lutherans, and the Switzers, in 1570, at Sandomir. There they agreed on a formulary, generally called *the Consent of Faith at Sandomir*. This document, and a curious account of the congress, at which it was framed, was published by Jablonski, at Berlin, in 1731, with the title, *Historia Consensus Sandomirensis*.

But the agreement was of short duration ; and almost immediately after it was signed, the majority of the Bohemians entered into communion with the Helvetic churches. In the year 1620, a general union of all the Bohemian churches was effected at Astrog, under the name of *the Church of the United Brethren*. By the terms of this agreement, the external form of the church was nearly lutheran, the articles of faith, nearly calvinistic.

CHAP. VIII.

THE ARTICULI VISITATORII OF THE ELECTORATE
OF SAXONY.

THE articles, which are the subject of this chapter might, with propriety, have immediately followed the account which has been given of the symbolic books of the lutheran churches ; but, as these articles were formed in consequence of the feuds between the lutheran and reformed churches, and were designed to serve as a test for the discovery of concealed calvinists, the writer thought the object and import of them would be better understood if they were preceded by an account of the symbolic books both of the lutheran and of the reformed churches.

The strong terms, in which Luther reprobated the sacramentarians, have been mentioned. Several, however, of his most distinguished disciples were, even in his life-time, favourably disposed towards them. After his decease, they made no secret of those sentiments. Melancthon was at their head ; and his intimacy with Calvin, the chief of the sacramentarians, frequently led them to amicable discussions on the points in dispute. Melancthon died before any progress in the attempt at conciliation was made, but his spirit of moderation descended to his disciples.

The principal point in difference between the parties, turned on the doctrine of the real presence, in the eucharistic sacrifice. In 1570, Peucer, the son-in-law of Melancthon, endeavoured to introduce the doctrine of Calvin on this article, into the Saxon churches. At first, his endeavours seemed to be attended with success; but, having published a catechism, in which the doctrine of Calvin on the eucharist was plainly insinuated, the Saxon divines took the alarm. Augustus, the elector of Saxony, assembled them at Dresden, propounded to them a formulary of doctrine on the real presence, and ordered them to sign it. On the refusal of Peucer and his adherents, the elector, in 1574, held the famous convocation at Torgau, and committed Peucer and several of his adherents to prison. Peucer was treated with particular severity, and was not released till 1585.

Still, the favourers of the doctrine of Calvin persisted in their opinions. They did not dare to make an open profession of them; but were known to retain them, and, from their secret attachment to them, obtained the appellation of crypto-calvinists, or secret abettors of calvinism. Augustus was succeeded by Christian the first. Under him, the crypto-calvinists emerged from their obscurity, and openly propagated their doctrines. In 1591, they distributed a new calvinistic catechism, and a translation of the Bible into the German language, accommodated to calvinistic principles.

By degrees, the crypto-calvinists were openly tolerated; and at length so much countenanced by Christian, as to threaten the lutheran ascendancy; but his death, in 1591, put an end to their hopes. Christian the second, a minor, succeeded him; Frederic William, duke of Saxe-Altembergh, was his guardian, and the regent of the electorate, during his minority. Being warmly attached to Luther, he committed many of the crypto-calvinists to prison, and, in 1681, Crellius, their principal encourager and patron, was, by his orders, put to death. A general persecution of the crypto-calvinists ensued, and articles, generally called *articuli visitatorii*, were formed, and tendered for the signature of all, who were suspected of calvinism, as a test to discover their principles. They are not numbered among the symbolic books of the lutherans, but are singularly regarded by them. As the persons, by whom they were framed, were much esteemed, and as they professed to state in them, with brevity and precision, the principal points in difference between the lutherans and calvinists, a literal translation of them is inserted in the Appendix*. It is made from the edition of them at the end of Dr. Semler's *Apparatus ad Libros Symbolicos Ecclesiæ Lutheranæ*.

* Appendix, Note II.

CHAP. IX.

THE SYMBOLIC BOOK OF THE ARMINIANS.

THE triumph of the reformed churches over the Arminians, at the synod of Dort, was rather apparent than substantial. It may be added to the numerous instances of the unavailing efforts of the temporal and ecclesiastical powers, even when they are united, to prevent the diffusion and adoption of opinions, which the public mind is strongly bent on receiving. Most of the leaders of the arminians were banished from the states of Holland, or found it necessary to quit them. Those who remained were persecuted, and the general body was subjected to continual vexation. But, after the death of Prince Maurice, a wiser conduct, in their regard, was pursued: the exiles were recalled, and the community at large was permitted to follow their religious principles without molestation. Insensibly, the toleration was so complete, that, with the connivance of the government, they built churches, founded seminaries for the instruction of their youth, and, for the propagation of their theological principles, established a college at Amsterdam. The first professor of theology at this celebrated institution was Episcopius. Many other of its professors, as Courcelles, Limborch, Le

Clerc, and Wetstein, were eminent for their learning. From their remonstrances against the proceedings of the synod at Dort, they obtained the appellation of remonstrants: from their opposition to the remonstrances, Gomar and his followers were called contra-remonstrants.

The great object of the arminian professors was, if we may be allowed to use their own expressions, to simplify the creed of christians, and bring them into one fold. In opposition to the followers of Calvin, they held 1st, That God, from all eternity, determined to bestow salvation on those, who, he foresaw, would persevere, to the end, in their faith in Jesus Christ; and to inflict everlasting punishment on those, who, he foresaw, would continue in their unbelief, and resist, unto the end, his divine succours: 2dly, That Jesus Christ, by his death and sufferings, atoned for the sins of all mankind; but, that those only, who believe in him, can be partakers of these benefits: 3dly, That true faith cannot proceed from the exercise of our natural faculties and powers, or from the force and operation of free will, so that it is necessary to man's conversion and salvation, that he be regenerated and renewed, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, which is the gift of God, through Jesus Christ: 4thly, That the divine grace begins, advances, and brings to perfection every thing, that can be called good in man; but does not force man to act against his inclination, and may be resisted, and rendered

ineffectual by his perverse will: 5thly, That persons united to Christ by faith, are thereby furnished with abundant strength to triumph over the seduction of Satan and concupiscence; but, that the question, whether persons thus united to Christ may afterwards fall from their faith, and finally forfeit this state of grace, has not yet been resolved with sufficient perspicuity.

In reading these articles, the reader will naturally ask, which of them justified the religious persecution, which the arminians suffered, or called down upon them the interference of the civil power. Their persecution gave rise to the learned and eloquent treatise of Grotius, “*De jure summarum potestatum circa sacra.*” It was perhaps the first advocation of religious liberty that issued from any press. But Sir Thomas More had, long before, supposed its existence in Utopia.

It is observable, that the difference of opinion between the arminians and the reformed churches, on the points, which we have noticed, is the great subject of division between the Wesleyan and Whitfieldian methodists; and, in a great degree the apple of discord between the jesuits and jansenists.

The theological system of the arminians, after their return from Holland, underwent, if we credit Dr. Mosheim, a remarkable change. They appeared by his account, almost to coincide with those, who exclude the necessity of divine succours

in the work of conversion and sanctification ; and to think that Christ demands from man, rather virtue than faith ; and has confined that belief, which is essential to salvation, to a few articles. Thus, the modern arminians, if we credit Dr. Mosheim, admit into their communion, 1st, All, who receive the holy scriptures, and more especially the New Testament ; and they allow to every individual his own interpretation of the sacred books : —2d, All, who abstain from idolatry and polytheism : —3d, All, whose lives are regulated by the laws of God : —4th, And all, who neither persecute, nor bear ill will towards those, who differ from them in their religious principles. Their confession of faith was drawn up by Episcopius. It is entitled, “ *Confessio, sive Declaratio sententiae Pastorum, qui in Federato Belgio Remonstratenses vocantur, super præcipuos Articulos Religionis Christianæ MDCXXII.* ” Four divines of the established church of Holland, Polyander, Rivetus, Walæus, and Thysæus, published *A Refutation* of this confession. The authors of the confession replied by their *Apology* in 1626.

The adversaries of the arminians have frequently attempted to fix on them the charge of deism ; but this charge, the arminians have indignantly rejected. A writer in the *Bibliotheque Germanique*, (Tom. XLVI. Art. 12. P. 208.) relates, that “ the celebrated Anthony Collins called on M. Le Clerc, of Amsterdam. He was

accompanied by some Frenchman of the confraternity of those, who think freely. They expected to find the religious opinions of Le Clerc in unison with their own ; but they were surprised to find the strong stand which he made in favour of revelation. He proved to them, with great strength of argument, the truth of the christian religion. ‘ Jesus Christ, he told them, was born among the Jews : still it was not the jewish religion which he taught ; neither was it the religion of the pagan neighbourhood ; but a religion infinitely superior to both. One sees in it, the most striking marks of divinity. The christians, who followed, were incapable of imagining any thing so beautiful. Add to this, that the christian religion is so excellently calculated for the good of society, that, if we did not derive so great a present from heaven, the good and safety of men would absolutely demand for them an equivalent.’—Throughout the conversation, M. Le Clerc warmly reproached the deists for the hatred which they showed to christianity. He proved, that by banishing it from the world, they would overturn whatever was most holy and respectable among men ; break asunder the surest bonds of humanity ; teach men to shake off the yoke of law ; deprive them of their strongest incitement to virtue ; and bereave them of their best comfort. ‘ What,’ he asked them, ‘ do you substitute in its place ? Can you flatter yourselves that you will discover something better ? You expect,

no doubt, that men will erect statues to you, for your exertions to deprive them of their religion. Permit me to tell you, that the part you act, makes you odious and despicable in the eyes of all honest men.' He finished the conversation by requesting Mr. Collins to bring him no more such visitors.

From the close of the 17th century, till the present time, arminianism has been continually on the increase. It is a just observation of Mr. Gibbon, that "the disciples of Arminius must not be computed by their separate congregations."

CHAP. X.

THE SYMBOLIC BOOKS OF THE SOCINIANS— DISTINCTION BETWEEN THEM AND THE UNITARIANS.

Not long after the commencement of the reformation, several persons began to deny the trinity of persons in the Deity, and the divine authority of the Old and New Testament. From these, the modern unitarians descend directly; the socinians are more properly a sect which has branched from the early anti-trinitarians, than their descendants. We shall first mention the socinians, and then show the difference between the socinian and unitarian creeds.

X. 1.

AGAINST the unitarian impugners of the Trinity and the divine authority of the scriptures, the roman-catholics and protestants made a common cause. To avoid their hostilities, the maintainers of such opinions settled themselves in Poland ; and insensibly formed distinct congregations. Great contests taking place between them and the protestant communities of Poland, they were ordered, by a resolution of the diet of Petrickow, in 1565, to separate themselves into a distinct congregation. This was done ; and, from the town, in which the chief of them resided, they received the name of Pinczovians. In this state they published, in 1574, their first catechism ; *Catechismus et Confessio Fidei cætus per Poloniam Congregati, in nomine Jesu Christi Domini nostri crucifixi et resuscitati, MDLXXIV. Typis Alexandri Turobini, 12mo.*

This catechism is reckoned among the greatest typographical curiosities. It expresses, unequivocally, that Jesus Christ is subject to the Father, and seems to exclude mystery from its creed. It is ascribed to Gregory Paul, an eminent lutheran divine of the principal reformed church of Cracow, who, about the year 1556, became a convert to socinian principles. It is probably the work noticed by Sandius, *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitariorum*, p. 44 ; and by Mosheim (*Cent. XVI. § 3, Pars. II. note.*) He gives an interesting account

of its contents, and ascribes it to the celebrated George Schoman.

The advocates of its doctrines established congregations at Cracow, Lubin, Pinczow, Luck and Smila. But their most flourishing settlement was at Racow, a city in the district of Sendomir. Before their settlement at Racow, they composed two versions of the sacred writings, one in 1565, while they lived in communion with the Helvetic churches ; the other in 1572, after their separation.

In the mean time, similar opinions had been propagated in Italy, by *Lælius Socinus*. Being obliged, on this account, to leave it, he travelled into most countries of Europe, and finally settled at Zurich. Ostensibly, he adopted the Helvetic Confession, but retained his particular opinions ; and, at his death, bequeathed several writings in support of them to Faustus Socinus, his nephew ; inferior to him in learning, but superior to him in genius and energy. The religious opinions of Faustus Socinus becoming generally known, he was obliged to quit Zurich. After much wandering, he settled at Racow. There, he was received by the new communion with open arms ; and he completed their system of theology. From him, they derived their appellation of Socinians. The Polish churches committed to him and Peter Statorius, the task of revising the existing catechism, and printing it, in an improved form. Both died before they had completed the undertaking. It

was then delegated to Valentine Smalcius and Jerom Moscorovius. By them, it was finished, and published in 1605, in the Polish language. It is the work now known by the title of the Racovian Catechism, and is considered to be the Confession of Faith of the Socinians. In the year 1609, Moscorovius published a new edition of it; he prefixed to it a dedication to James the first of England. An edition in the German language, dedicated to the academy of Wittemberg, followed in 1612. Soon afterwards, John Cornelius, or Knoll, published a Dutch edition; but, on account of some deviations from the original, and particularly the omission of the articles relating to baptism and the Lord's supper, it was generally disowned. An English translation of the edition of 1605, was published at Amsterdam in 1652. Dr. Toulmin, in his Life of Socinus, ascribes it, seemingly by conjecture, to Mr. John Biddle.

Some years afterwards, this catechism received considerable additions, as well as alterations, from the pens of Crellius and Schlichtingius. This enlarged edition was published in 12mo. in 1665, with a prefatory discourse, on the right of private judgment in religion. A Dutch translation of it was published in 1666. In 1680, Andrew Wissowat republished the work in 4to., with some notes of his own, and some alterations, chiefly verbal and generally unimportant, of the text.

Another edition appeared in 12mo. in 1684. This contained all the notes given in 1680, with the addition of others by Benedict Wissowat, and an anonymous writer, who signs himself F. C., perhaps Florianus Crusius, a socinian physician of some eminence. The body of this edition is, unquestionably, a part of the impression of the edition of 1665, the pages corresponding, and the errata being identically the same. The new part consists of the title page, the notes of the two Wissowats, and F. C., which are printed at the end. Dr. Rees is now engaged on a translation of this edition.

In 1739, the edition of 1609 was reprinted at Frankfort, with copious notes, designed as an answer to its doctrines, by G. L. Oeder, a lutheran divine: they are said by Mosheim to be successfully executed. He mentions a work, *Commentatio de Catechesi Racoviensi*, published in 1757, by S. A. Schmidius, and like the rest of that learned author's writings, now become extremely scarce.

The first cathechism of Racow ranks among the greatest typographical rarities: the second is nearly as rare; all the other editions, which we have mentioned, are scarce. A curious history of Socinianism was published at Paris, with the title, “*Histoire du Socinianisme, divisée en deux parties, où l'on voit son origine et les progrès que les Sociniens ont fait dans differens Royaumes de la Chretienté*,

avec les characteres, les avantures, les erreurs, et les livres de ceux qui sont distinguez dans la Secte des Sociniens : à Paris 1723, qto." The best account of the socinian catechisms, which has fallen into the hands of the writer, is in the *Bibliotheca Theologica* of Walchius, tom. I. cap. iv. § 5. p. 533.

" The first principles of socinianism," says Mr. Alban Butler, in his concise and learned account of it in his ' Moveable Feasts, Fasts, and other annual Observances of the Catholic-church,' (page 620,) " are, that all scriptural doctrines are so to be understood, as to contain nothing above reason; no mystery; and that all the expressions, which seem to imply such things, are to be looked upon as lofty exaggerated phrases of the oriental languages: for they pretend, that nothing is to be allowed in faith or religion, which our reason does not fully comprehend. Hence it follows, that articles of faith vary in proportion to men's capacities. Secondly, the socinians teach, that Christ was formed by God; that he was an extraordinary man, born of the Virgin Mary; taken up to heaven; and imbued with that portion of divine power and knowledge, which is called the Holy Ghost; and sent again on earth, God's ambassador to men, to teach them his will and law. They deny his death to have been a satisfaction for our sins; but say, that those, who obey his precepts, which all men can do by the strength of their own

nature, will rise again in their own bodies, and enjoy a happy life in that blessed place, in which God possesses his own beatitude: but the wicked shall be condemned to temporary torments, for a certain term; after which, they will be reduced to a state of annihilation. Some among them condemn all swearing, wars, and magistrates, and all capital punishments. Their form of church government differs little from that of the calvinists. They baptize only the adults, and that, by immersion; and their notion of the eucharist is such as a zuinglian, or calvinist, would allow."

From Poland, the doctrine of Socinus found its way into Transilvania, where, towards the 16th century, it obtained a legal settlement. By the dukes of Transilvania, of the house of Batori, they were persecuted; but they survived the persecution, and preserved their legal establishments. From the beginning of the 17th century, they flourished till 1638, in which year, in consequence of the disorderly proceedings of some of the students at Racow, a law was enacted at Warsaw, which ordered, that the academy of Racow should be demolished, its professor banished, the printing-house of the socinians destroyed, and their churches, shut. The persecution of them continued for many years; and finally, in 1658, by a public and solemn act of the diet held at Warsaw, all the socinians were for ever banished from the state. The exiles

dispersed themselves in the adjacent provinces, and penetrated into Denmark, Holstein, Holland, and England. For a time, their cause seemed to revive, under the favour of Frederick the third, king of Denmark, Christian Albert, duke of Holstein, and Charles Lewis, elector palatine. They nearly obtained legal settlements at Altona, Frederickstadt, and Manheim ; but ultimately failed of success. But under every reverse of fortune, they have preserved a legal establishment in Transilvania. At Coloswar, a fortified and populous town, their community is numerous ; they have in it a public school and a printing-house ; and they have circulated their principles in many parts of Europe, with much activity, and sometimes with considerable success, particularly in Transilvania, Prussia, and Holland. The principal works composed by them with this design, were published in 1656, in one great collection, entitled, *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*, comprised in six large volumes folio. The second Racow catechism is considered to be their confession of faith.

X. 2.

WITH the Socinians, the *Unitarians* are often confounded ; but with great impropriety, as the unitarians are the direct and legitimate descendants of the stock from which, we have already observed, the socinians divaricated.

The principal difference between the unitarians and socinians, lies in their doctrines on the being and attributes of Jesus Christ. The unitarians, while they consider Jesus Christ as a teacher sent from God, and afterwards raised by him from the dead, hold him to have been a mere man: but the socinians hold Jesus Christ, though the son of Mary, to have been born of her, like Adam, without a father, by the extraordinary power of God. As such, they call him, though in a qualified sense, truly God, and enjoin his worship. In his Theses, *De Christo, a vera divinitate excludendo nisi sit creator cœli et terræ*, Socinus expresses himself in the following terms: “ If, by the term ‘ True God,’ be understood the eternal self-existent Being, the proposition, *the Creator of heaven and earth, is the one only true God*,—is true. But if by this proposition be understood one, who *hath a true divine power and dominion*—it is not true. For, though the Hebrew church knew no such true God, but him, who was the creator of heaven and earth—the Christian church acknowledges another true God, namely, the man Jesus of Nazareth, called Christ, who, after being long expected, was, in the reign of the emperors Augustus and Tiberius, first born, exhibited and made known to the world, and had *then* this divine majesty bestowed upon him, by the Creator of heaven and earth.” In conformity with these sentiments, Faustus Socinus exhorts the synod

of Wœgro, in his letter to them, (Op. vol. 1. p. 491.) “ to labour and take care, in the very first place, that the *adoration and invocation of Christ* may be secured in their churches.”

In a more refined, and, if not in a more intelligible, at least in a more specious appearance, the doctrine of the socinians, respecting Jesus Christ, was produced, in the beginning of the last century, by Dr. Samuel Clarke. Tritheism, Sabellianism, and Arianism, are the three rocks, on one of which the adventurer in the Trinitarian controversy too often splits. Dr. Clarke professed to steer clear of the first, by denying the self-existence of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and by maintaining their derivation from and subordination to the Father ; from the second, by maintaining, the personality and distinct agency of the Son and Holy Ghost ; and from the latter, by maintaining their eternity.

In his celebrated work, *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, he propounded his system with great clearness, and supported it with considerable strength and subtlety of argument. He met a powerful opponent in Dr. Hawarden, a celebrated clergyman of the roman-catholic church. By the desire of queen Caroline, the consort of George the first, a conference was held by them, in the presence of her majesty, of Mrs. Middleton, a roman-catholic lady, much in her confidence, and the celebrated Dr. Courayer.

When they met, Dr. Clarke, at some length, in very guarded terms, and with great apparent perspicuity, exposed his system. After he had finished, a pause of some length ensued: Dr. Hawarden then said, that "he had listened, with the greatest attention, to what had been said by Dr. Clarke; that, he believed, he apprehended rightly the whole of his system; and that the only reply which he should make to it, was, asking a single question:" that, "if the question should be thought to contain any ambiguity, he wished it to be cleared of its ambiguity before any answer to it was given;" but desired that, "when the answer to it should be given, it should be expressed either by the affirmative or negative monosyllable." To this proposition Dr. Clarke assented. "Then," said Dr. Hawarden, "I ask,—Can God the Father annihilate the Son and the Holy Ghost?—Answer me Yes or No." Dr. Clarke continued for some time in deep thought, and then said, "it was a question which he had never considered." Here the conference ended. A searching question it certainly was; and the reader will readily perceive its bearings. If Dr. Clarke answered Yes, he admitted the Son and Holy Ghost to be mere creatures; if he answered No, he admitted them to be absolutely Gods. The writer of these pages has frequently heard the conference thus related,—particularly by the late Mr. Alban Butler, the president of the English college at St. Omers, and

Mr. Winstanley, the professor of philosophy at the English college at Doway. It gave rise to Dr. Hawarden's "*Answer to Dr. Clarke and Mr. Whiston, concerning the Divinity of the Son of God, and of the Holy Spirit; with a summary account of the writers of the three first ages.*"

The unitarians have no symbolic book; the book, which, from the universal respect in which it is held by them, approacheth nearest, in their estimation, to a document of that description, is Dr. Lardner's *Letter on the Logos*, published in 1730, and printed in the eleventh volume of the works of that very learned, very modest, and very instructive writer.

CHAP. XI.

THE SYMBOLIC BOOKS OF THE CHURCH OF
ENGLAND.

THE seeds of the Reformation were first sown in England by lutheran hands. In the reign of Edward the sixth, the disciples of Calvin obtained great influence in all its ecclesiastical concerns. Queen Elizabeth adopted the whole of the discipline, and much of the creed, of the lutheran church: but, in her final settlement of the creed and discipline, by the thirty-nine articles, she admitted a considerable proportion of calvinism.

The symbolic books of the Church of England are the Thirty-nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer. Such, too, of the oaths prescribed by the laws of England, as express theological doctrines, partake, so far as they are confined to these, of the nature of symbolic books—I. We shall, therefore, begin this article with an account of the English Theological Oaths: II. Then consider, successively, the Articles of Henry the eighth; III. The Articles of Edward the sixth; IV. The Thirty-nine Articles; V. The Canons; VI. The Controversy on the authentic edition of the Thirty-nine Articles; VII. The Book of Common Prayer; and, VIII. The Books of Homilies.

XI. 1.

The English Theological Oaths.

1. AMONG the Theological Oaths prescribed by the law of England, those, by which it is declared that the king is, and ought to be, the supreme head of the church of this realm, present themselves first to our consideration.

By a statute passed in the 26th year of the reign of Henry the eighth, it was enacted, that, " His majesty, his heirs and successors, kings of England, should be the only supreme head, on earth, of the church of England; and should have all the honours, dignities, immunities, profits, and commodities belonging to that dignity; and full power and

authority to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend, all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, as ought or lawfully might be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, by any manner of spiritual jurisdiction or supremacy."

By an act of the 37th year of the same reign, it was declared, that " archbishops, and the other ecclesiastical persons, had no manner of jurisdiction, ecclesiastical, but by, under, and from his royal majesty ; and that his majesty was the only supreme head of the church of England and Ireland ; to whom, by holy scripture, all authority and power was wholly given, to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical ; and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sins whatsoever, and to all such persons, as his majesty should appoint thereunto."

Language, it should seem, cannot confer spiritual power on a sovereign, or those to whom he shall please to delegate it, in terms more ample or explicit, than those adopted in these statutes. They were in force during the whole of the reign of king Edward the sixth ; were repealed by the first parliament of queen Mary ; revived by the first parliament of queen Elizabeth ; have since continued, and are now in force.

In the first year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, the doctrine expressed in these statutes was inserted in an oath. Persons were required by it to swear,

that “ in their consciences, they testified and declared, that the queen was the only supreme governor of the realm, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal ; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate had or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm ; and that they renounced all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities and authorities.”

Elizabeth, however, after the passing of this act, published a declaration, that, “ nothing was or could be meant or intended by it, than what was acknowledged to be due to king Henry her father, or king Edward her brother ; and that she neither did or would challenge any other authority by the same, than what was challenged and lately due to the said two kings ;—which was, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all persons within her realm or dominions, of what estates (either ecclesiastical or temporal,) soever they were, so as no foreign power should or ought to have any superiority over them.”

“ This explanation,” says Dr. Heylin, “ not giving general satisfaction, the bishops and clergy, in their convocation of the year 1652, by the queen’s authority, declared more plainly, that they gave not to their princess, by virtue of the said act, or otherwise, either the ministry of God’s word or sacraments, but that only prerogative,

which they saw always to have been given to all godly princes in holy scripture, by God himself: that is to say, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they were ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain, with the civil sword, the stubborn and evil doers."

An act passed in the third year of king James the first, which prescribed an oath of allegiance and obedience. Both these oaths, and the oath of supremacy, prescribed by the act of the first of queen Elizabeth, were abrogated by an act passed in the first session of the first year of king William and queen Mary; and by the same act, a new oath of allegiance and supremacy were established in their place. An act made in the second session of the first year of king George the first introduced a new oath of supremacy.

The explanations, by which queen Elizabeth qualified the supremacy attributed to her, and still more the explanations given by king James the first in his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*, —in his *Præmonition*,—and in his *Remonstrance for the Rights of Kings*, have induced some respectable writers, both protestant and catholic, to suppose, that the supremacy attributed to the sovereign by the statutes, which have been mentioned, was only meant to express an unequivocal acknowledgement of the monarch's right to temporal sovereignty over the ecclesiastical, as well as over the secular part of his subjects; and a recognition, that all the

civil power, by which ecclesiastical persons or ecclesiastical courts can enforce their spiritual rights or sentences, is derived from the crown. It is probable, that, if a legislative declaration should now be given of the sense, in which the supremacy of the crown in ecclesiastical concerns should be understood, it would be found to accord with this explanation. But, to the writer of these pages it appears impossible to reconcile it, either with the language of the statutes, or of the oaths, which have been mentioned, or with the constructions, which the sovereigns of England, since the time of the Reformation, have evidently put upon them.

2. The other theological oaths are the *Declarations against Transubstantiation*, prescribed by an act of the 25th of king Charles the second ; and the *Declaration against Transubstantiation, the Invocation of Saints, and the Sacrifice of the Mass*, prescribed by a statute passed in the 30th year of the reign of the same monarch.

XI. 2.

The Ten Articles and Six Articles of King Henry the eighth.

1. HENRY the eighth's innovations in religion occasioning much diversity in the doctrine delivered in the pulpits, his majesty, on the 12th of July, 1536, sent a circular letter to the bishops, enjoining them to abstain from preaching, till the

ensuing Michaelmas. In the mean time he framed *Ten Articles of religious credence*, and sent them to the convocation, then sitting at St. Paul's.

It is observable, that, in foreign countries, a convocation, or ecclesiastical synod, consists wholly of bishops: in England, it is a miniature of a parliament. The archbishop presides in regal state; the upper house, contains the bishops, and represents the house of lords; the lower house, is composed of representatives of the several dioceses, and of each particular chapter in them; and resembles the house of commons, with its knights of shire and burgesses.—But the honours of the houses of convocation should be spoken of, rather in the past than in the present tense: they still indeed have a legal capacity of existence; but have not, for nearly a century, been permitted to meet for business.

The convocation having received the ten articles from the king, passed them unanimously. Baptism, penance, and the sacrament of the eucharist, with the doctrine of transubstantiation, auricular confession, and prayers to the saints were retained in them: they left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful.

II. In the parliament of the year 1538, the last which was held in the reign of Henry the eighth, the statute “for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning christian religion,” commonly called “the statute of *The Six Articles*,”

was passed.—All these six articles accord with the doctrines of the roman-catholic church.

XI. 3.

The Forty-two Articles of Edward the sixth.

IN the fourth year of the reign of Edward the sixth, it was resolved in council, to reform the doctrine of the church. Archbishop Cranmer and bishop Ridley accordingly framed forty-two articles of christian doctrine. Copies of them were sent to several bishops, and other divines, for their consideration. Being returned by them, the articles were approved in council, and had the royal sanction. In the title page, they were styled “ Articles agreed upon, by the bishops and other learned men, in the convocation, held at London in the year 1552, for avoiding diversity of opinion, and establishing consent touching true religion, published by the king’s authority.” But it is certain by Cranmer’s own admission, in the subsequent reign, that these articles never were submitted either to parliament, or to the convocation. They are generally understood to be the same in substance as the thirty-nine articles.

XI. 4.

The Thirty-nine Articles.

IN January, 1562, both the parliament and the convocation of the province of Canterbury were

convened. It appears that the draught of the thirty-nine articles was presented to the convocation by archbishop Parker; and that the convocation approved them unanimously. All the registers of the convocation having been burned at the memorable fire of London, our information of its proceedings upon the articles must be derived from other sources, and these, unfortunately, are very imperfect. We find, that the convocation first met at the Chapter-house at St. Paul's, on the 12th day of January, and held thirty-six several sessions; sometimes at the Chapter-house, and sometimes, by continuation, at king Henry the seventh's chapel at Westminster. Archbishop Parker presided, and was the great mover of all its proceedings. The convocation began by taking into consideration the articles of Edward the sixth. From forty-two, they reduced them to thirty-nine, making alterations in some of them. With these alterations, the convocation adopted them unanimously; and thus, they had all the authority that the convocation of Canterbury could confer on them.

In 1566, a bill was brought into parliament to confirm them. It passed the Commons; but was dropt in the house of Lords, by the queen's particular command. In the year 1571, the convocation revised the articles of 1562, and made some alterations in them. In the same year an act was passed “to provide, that the ministers of the church should be of sound religion.” It enacted, that all

ecclesiastical persons should subscribe to “ all the articles of religion, which only concerned the confession of the true faith, and of the sacraments, comprised in a book, imprinted, intitled “ *Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the archbishops and bishops, and the whole clergy in convocation, holden at London, in the year of our Lord God, 1562, according to the computation of the Church of England, for the avoiding of the diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion, put forth by the Queen's authority.*

” All the acts of parliament, made subsequently to this time, which mention the Articles, refer to this act, as settling the Articles, and the rule of subscription to them.

For some reason, which does not now appear, they were confirmed, in 1604, by the convocation of Canterbury. In 1628, an edition of them, in the English language, was published by the royal authority. To this edition, a declaration of king Charles the first is prefixed. It is the exemplar of all the subsequent editions.

XI. 5.

The Canons.

HAVING given the substance of the confession of Augsburgh, and mentioned the principal points, in which the confessions of the reformed churches generally differed from it, the nature of these pages

seems to require, that we should now present our readers with a short view of the religious creed expressed in the thirty-nine articles, but we are sensible that our readers are too well acquainted with them to make this necessary.

An elegant account of the creed, which they contain, is given in his eighth Bampton lecture, by doctor Eveleigh, the late learned and accomplished provost of Oriel college. He concludes it by observing, “ that they were principally intended to ascertain and deliver down the essential doctrine of christianity ;” that “ the remaining parts of them were as obviously directed against the dangerous opinions of the different adversaries of the church of England :” that “ all, which was admitted on the latter head, was supplied in a considerable degree, under Elizabeth, by the *Canons* which she enforced during her government.” These, he adds, “ were permanently provided for by the body of canons which were enacted in the first year of her successor’s reign ; and which at present describe and enforce the different parts of the ecclesiastical system of the church of England ; and were intended to supply the place of the canons and decretals of the church of Rome.”

From the former part of this work it appears, that the doctrines on which the confessions of faith principally differ among themselves, respect predestination and the sacrament of our Lord’s Supper. To these the 17th and 28th of the thirty-nine

articles relate. The language in which these are couched shows, that the framers of them wished to express them in terms, which, if they did not conciliate, would not offend the maintainers of the opposite opinions.

XI. 6.

The Controversy on the Authentic Edition of the Thirty-nine Articles.

IT has been mentioned, that the act of 1571, by which the thirty-nine articles were legally sanctioned, describes them, as “ *the Articles of Religion comprised in a book, imprinted, entitled Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the arch-bishops and bishops, and the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London, in the year of our Lord God, 1562, according to the computation of the Church of England, for avoiding of the diversities of opinions, and for establishing of consent, touching true religion, put forth by the Queen's authority.*

” The point on which the controversy in question wholly turns, is, *which is the imprinted book, thus described.*

This would be of no consequence, if we possessed the original manuscript, from which the book, to which the act of parliament refers, was printed: but the original manuscript was certainly burned in the fire of London.

The book, to which the act refers, must be some book printed before the bill, which refers to it, was

brought into parliament, and the book must have the title mentioned in the act. Now, both in the prior printed editions, whether in English, or Latin; and in the prior English and Latin manuscripts of the thirty-nine articles, which have reached us, there are numberless various readings; and some of these materially affect the sense of the text. This evidently makes it important to ascertain the edition referred to by the act of parliament of 1571. One of the most important of these various readings is to be found in the twentieth article.

In the text of the edition of 1628, and in all the subsequent editions, this article is expressed in the following terms, “ The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies; and authority in controversies of Faith: and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God’s word written; neither may it expound one place of scriptures, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so, besides the same, ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation.”

It is doubted by many, whether the first paragraph of this article, “ the church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith,”—was inserted in the printed copy of these articles, which was legislatively sanctioned by the act of 1671.

Archbishop Laud, was accused, at his trial, of having fabricated this paragraph. With great indignation and eloquence he denied the fact; asserted, that it made a part of the clause, as it stood originally, and charged his accusers with having wickedly caused it to be left out of the copies.

In 1710, the celebrated Anthony Collins revived the charge in a pamphlet, intitled, “*Priestcraft in Perfection, or a detection of the fraud of inserting and continuing this clause,—(The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith,) in the 20th Article of the Articles of the Church of England.*”

An able defence of the authenticity of the paragraph was published in 1710, under the title, “*A Vindication of the Church of England from the aspersions of a late libel, entitled ‘Priestcraft in Perfection,’ wherein, the controverted clause of the church’s power in the 20th article is shown to be of equal authority with all the rest of the articles: and the fraud and forgery charged upon the clergy, on the account of this clause, are retorted upon their accusers; with a preface, containing some remarks upon the reflections in that pamphlet;—by a Priest of the Church of England.*”

This was followed in 1715, by “*an Essay on the 39 Articles of Religion, agreed on in 1562, and revived in 1571, wherein—(the text being*

first exhibited in Latin and English, and the minutest variations of 18, the most ancient and authentic copies, carefully noted,)—An account is given of the proceedings of convocation in framing and settling the text of the Articles. The controverted clause of the 20th Article demonstrated to be genuine: and the case of subscription to the Articles is considered in point of law, history, and conscience: with a prefatory epistle to Anthony Collins, esq. wherein the egregious falsehoods and calumnies of the author of Priestcraft in Persecution are exposed,—by Thomas Bennett, D. D. rector of St. James's in Colchester.”

To both these answers, a reply was published in 1724, intitled, “ *An historical and critical Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England; wherein it is demonstrated, that the clause,—‘ the Church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and controversies of faith, inserted in the 20th Article,’—is not a part of the Articles as they were established by act of parliament, of 13 of queen Elizabeth, or agreed by the convocation of 1562 or 1571.*”

All these works discover talent, research and discernment; but all are written with too great asperity.

Several other works, on the same subject, have appeared, at different times: but it is probable, that nothing is contained in any of them, which is not to be found in those that have been cited.

They do not appear to the writer of these pages to lead to any certain conclusion. It is not his intention to discuss the question : he has the satisfaction of being able to inform the reader, that it is in the hands of the most learned rector of St. Paul's Church, Deptford. The following remark only, he begs leave to present to the consideration of his readers.

All expectations of ascertaining, that any one of the printed editions, which have reached us, is the edition of the Thirty-nine Articles, referred to by the act of 1571, or expresses its text, must now be considered hopeless. But, as the act of 1571 mentions, that the articles contained in the printed book, are those “agreed on by the arch-bishops and bishops, and the whole clergy at the convocation held in London, in the year 1562,” it may be thought, that the point will be gained, or nearly gained, if the original manuscript, or even an authentic copy of those articles can be produced.

There are five known manuscript copies of the articles extant, in which the negative clause is prefixed to the twentieth article.—One, in the library of bishop Cozens, at Durham,—two in St. John's library, Cambridge,—one, in the public library, Cambridge,—and one, in the library of the rector of Deptford, Kent.

On the other hand,—the first paragraph is not inserted in the manuscript, which was bequeathed

by archbishop Parker to Bennet College, in Cambridge, and which is now in the library of that college ; and it has been strenuously and acutely contended, that this manuscript is the authentic instrument, or, as it has been sometimes termed, the Record of the Articles, as they were produced and agreed to by the convocation. In the writer's opinion, this manuscript has a better claim than any other manuscript, or any printed document, to express the text of the articles, as it was settled by the convocation ; but cannot be the manuscript adopted by the convocation.

It is signed with particular care by the archbishop of Canterbury, and by almost all the bishops of his province ; by the archbishop of York, and the bishops of Durham and Chester, his suffragans ; and by the whole lower house of convocation. It has many alterations and erasures ;—at the end, there is mention not only of the number of pages, but of the number of lines in each page. In the memorandum of the signatures it is called the autograph, and is said to be in the custody of archbishop Parker. These circumstances certainly give it great authority ; the point to be ascertained, is, —the exact degree of authority, to which they entitle it.

Now,—when an important instrument is to be signed, and formally presented to the public, or to a public body, it often happens,—particularly if the parties interested are numerous, and known

to entertain different views of its subject,—that a meeting is called ; that a draught of the instrument is produced, and read, clause by clause ; that numerous alterations are made in it, so as to render it unfit for presentation ; and that a fair copy for presentation is directed to be made : but that, in order to authenticate the tenor of what has been agreed to, the draught is signed and deposited with some respectable person for safe custody.

The writer suggests it to be very probable, that something of this nature took place in respect to the Thirty-nine Articles. The difference of opinion, on the subject of many of them, made it advisable, that, before they were discussed in convocation, the terms should be generally settled. For this purpose, a draught would be prepared :—and may not the manuscript in Bennet College be this draught ? This, all the circumstances of the draught render very probable.

Two circumstances absolutely negative the notion of its being any instrument or process of the convocation. The first, is the mention of the pages in the subscription :—It is unknown and altogether inconceivable, that any respectable public body should have recourse to such a precaution in any of their records, or solemn proceedings. The second, is the subscription of the archbishop of York and his suffragans. The clergy of each province had its separate convocation. It was the convocation of the province of Canterbury, that

was convened on this occasion:—Now the archbishop of York, or his suffragans, could not concur in any *convocational act* of the province of Canterbury, or subscribe any instruments of that province. Besides,—if we suppose it to be a convocational record, or a convocational transcript, it would have been deposited in the archives of the convocation, and not placed in the custody of the archbishop.

It follows, therefore, that the manuscript in question is not a convocational record, or even a convocational transcript.

Still it is allowable to cite it as strong evidence of the text of the record. In all courts of judicature, it is a received rule of evidence, that, where the highest degree of evidence cannot be produced, the want of it may be supplied by the next degree that can be procured. Thus, when a deed has been burnt, the want of the original may be supplied by a copy, or even by a draught. Those who contend against such secondary evidence, are at liberty to disprove it, by any circumstance which detracts from its value: but, speaking generally, when it cannot be disproved, the next degree of evidence is always allowed to supply the want of the first, when that cannot be obtained.

To a high degree, in this secondary class of evidence, the Bennet College manuscript appears to be entitled. How far its value is lessened or increased by the various other circumstances, which

accompany the case, is beside the present inquiry:—the writer conceives, that, (*each of them standing singly,*) no other copy printed or manuscript has yet been produced, which can be put into competition with it.

XI. 7.

The Book of Common Prayer.

THAT the Jews had set forms of prayer, and used them in their synagogues, has been satisfactorily shown by Dr. Lightfoot: that the earliest Christians joined in the use of the Lord's Prayer and the Psalms, appears from several passages in the Acts of the Apostles and the Apostolic Epistles: that, at an early period of christianity, liturgies were in use, may be justly inferred from those ascribed to St. Peter, St. Mark, and St. James, which Mr. Wheately in a work of real learning,—his *Rational Illustration of the Common Prayer*, (Introduction, p. 13,) says “are doubtless of great antiquity.” In the course of time there was a variety of liturgies. In England, those of York, Sarum and Bangor, were particularly distinguished. Those of the middle ages generally consisted of the missal, and the breviary. The former contained the service of the mass; the latter, those forms of prayer, consisting of psalms, hymns, and lessons, which there was an obligation on the clergy to recite daily; and part of which

was solemnly sung in the churches, every Sunday, and principal holiday, for the edification of the laity.

The liturgy soon attracted the notice of the Reformers. In 1537, a book was published, called *The godly and pious Instruction of a Christian Man*. It contained in the English language, a declaration of the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Seven Sacraments. With some variations, it was re-published in 1540 and 1543, under the title of *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*. In 1545, the *King's Primer* was published, containing, among other things, the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Ten Commandments, Venite Exultemus, Te Deum and several hymns and collects.

Soon after the accession of Edward the sixth, a committee of divines was appointed to reform the liturgy. They drew up offices for Sundays and holidays; for baptism, confirmation and matrimony; burial of the dead, and other special occasions; and formed them into one book. It was published by the common agreement and full assent of the parliament and convocations. In 1548, it was confirmed by an act of parliament, and declared "to have been composed by the aid of the Holy Ghost." Exceptions, however, were made to some passages. These were altered by archbishop Cranmer, with the assistance of Martyn Bucer, and Peter Martyr, whom he had invited

to England from Germany. Thus revised and altered, the book was confirmed by parliament, in 1551. Both acts were repealed in the first year of the reign of queen Mary.

At the accession of queen Elizabeth, it was debated, which of the two books should be adopted. It was decided in favour of the latter; and, by the act of uniformity, passed in the second year of her reign, the latter received, with some variation, the sanction of parliament.

Alterations were made in it, in the first year of James the first, in consequence of some things which had been said of it, at the conference at Hampton Court.

Immediately after the Restoration, it was solemnly reviewed; some alterations were made, and the liturgy was brought to its present state. It was unanimously subscribed by the houses of convocation of both provinces, in December 1661. In the following March, an act of parliament was passed for its legal establishment. It is there styled, “the Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the Church of England, together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, as they are to be sung and said in churches, and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons.”

XI. 8.

The Homilies.

THE Thirty-nine Articles, and Book of Common Prayer, are the only symbolic books of the Church of England. Next to them in authority are the Homilies. These are held in so much consideration, that recourse is sometimes had to them, to determine the sense of passages in the articles which have been thought dubious.

“ They are,” says Mr. Wheatley in his *Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England*, “ two books of plain sermons, (for so the word signifies,) set out by public authority; one whereof is to be read on every Sunday and holiday when there is no sermon. The first volume of them was set out in the beginning of Edward the sixth’s reign, having been composed (as it is thought,) by archbishop Cranmer, bishop Ridley and Latimer, at the beginning of the Reformation, when a competent number of ministers of sufficient abilities to preach to a congregation was not to be found. The second volume was set out in queen Elizabeth’s reign.

CHAP. XII.

THE SYMBOLIC BOOKS OF THE PRESBYTERIANS
AND INDEPENDENTS.

FROM what has been mentioned in a preceding part of this work, it appears, that, in the reign of *Henry the eighth*, the Church of England generally adopted the sentiments of Luther concerning the eucharist, ecclesiastical government, and the liturgy. During the reign of *Edward the sixth*, the church generally retained the same form of government and liturgy, but adopted much of the doctrine of Calvin. The change of religion, in the reign of *Queen Mary*, and the consequences of this change, drove many of the most zealous of the reformers into Switzerland. Some observed the form of worship of the English church; others preferred that of the Helvetic churches, on account of its greater simplicity. This distinction followed them, in their return to England, on the accession of *Queen Elizabeth*; and the former received the denomination of Conformists, the latter those of Nonconformists and Puritans. By the legislative acts of her parliaments, and the religious principles generally favoured during her reign, a larger portion of lutheranism was introduced into the church of England. To these, the German exiles and their adherents generally objected: some of them required, that the church of England should be

modelled exactly after that of Geneva, and all other doctrines and rituals proscribed; the rest desired no more than liberty of conscience, and the allowance of law to celebrate the divine service in their own form. But the queen systematically pursued her plan of religious coercion: new rules of discipline were established,—and the articles of faith received some modification. At length, the act of uniformity, a fruitful source of discord, was passed, enjoining all to submit to the reformation of the church, as it was then settled. To this, the puritans could not reconcile their principles or their feelings: they objected to the hierarchy and the doctrine of its divine institution; to the necessity of episcopal ordination; to the vestments of the clergy; to the use of music in the church service; to the sign of the cross, and to holy days.

During the whole of the reign of queen Elizabeth, the contest between the established church and the puritans, was on the increase; and many wholesome severities, to use the language of persecution, were inflicted on the puritans. At first, the puritans seemed to be favoured by *James the first*, her successor; he expressed a laudable desire to accommodate matters between the contending churches. With this view, he appointed the conference at Hampton Court. It was attended by nine bishops and as many dignitaries of the church on one side, and by four puritans on the other. James himself took a great part at the conference,

and had the satisfaction to hear from Whitgift, the archbishop of Canterbury, that, “undoubtedly his majesty spoke by the special assistance of God’s spirit;” and, from Bancroft, the bishop of London, that “the Almighty, of his singular mercy, had given such a king, as from Christ’s time there had not been.” “Whereupon,” (says Strype, in the *Life and Acts of Archbishop Whitgift*, Book IV. cxxxii.) “the lords with one voice yielded a very affectionate acclamation.” His majesty was highly delighted with his own display of talent at this extraordinary exhibition. In a letter preserved by Strype, (N. xlvi.), the royal theologian writes to one of his friends, that, “he had kept a revel with the puritans for two days, the like of which was never seen; and that he had peppered them, as he, (to whom he was writing), had done the papists: and that he was forced to say at last, that, if any of them had been in a college, disputing with other scholars, and that any of their disciples had answered them, in that sort, they themselves would have snatched him up, in place of a reply, with a rod.”

From this time king James was a bitter enemy to the discipline and doctrine of the puritans; and his enmity to them descended to *Charles the first*, his son, and contributed not a little to his misfortunes. In the eighteenth year of his reign, an ordinance was passed by both houses of parliament, forming and convening an “assembly of learned

and godly divines, and others, to be consulted with, by the parliament, for settling the government and church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said church from false aspersions and interpretations.” The assembly consisted of 151 persons: ten lords, twenty commoners, and 121 divines. The lords and commoners were called lay-assessors, and had an equal liberty of voting and debating with the divines. Among these, were Sir Matthew Hale and Mr. Selden, men that would have done honour to any assembly. One lay-assessor and four divines attended from Scotland. The assembly was ordered to meet in Henry the seventh’s Chapel, at Westminster: from that circumstance it obtained the appellation of “the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.” It was opened on the 1st of the following July. One of the first objects of deliberation was to prepare a Confession of Faith. This took much time: it was not finished till their sitting on the 22d of July, 1646. The English divines would have been satisfied with a revision and explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles; but the Scottish divines insisted on a distinct formulary. On the 11th of the following December, it was presented to parliament by the whole assembly, in a body, under the title of *The humble advice of the Assembly of Divines and others, now, by the authority of parliament, sitting at Westminster, concerning a Confession of Faith.* The house of

Commons voted thanks for it to the assembly, and desired them to insert in it, proofs of the doctrine which it expressed, and to print 600 copies of it, with the proofs. The proofs were accordingly added in the margin. On the 11th of May, in the following year, the confession, with the scriptural proofs in its margin, was sent to the press ; and, when it was finished, copies of it were delivered to all the members. The Commons then took it into consideration ; and, unless prevented by more urgent business, discussed one chapter of it on every Wednesday. They made in it some alterations, and, at a conference with the house of lords, on the 22d of March, 1647-8, presented it to them. The houses of parliament agreed with the assembly on the doctrinal part of the confession, and, in the following July, ordered it to be printed for the satisfaction of the foreign churches, under the title of “ *Articles of Religion approved and passed by both Houses of Parliament, after advice had with an Assembly of Divines, called together by them for that purpose.* ” But, there being a difference of opinion on some articles of discipline, they withdrew their assent from these. On that account, these were not printed, by order of the house ; but they stand in the assembly’s catechism. Among them, was the whole thirtieth chapter of *Church Censures and the Power of the Keys*, the thirty-first chapter, of *Synods and Councils*, a great part of the twenty-fourth chapter

of *Marriage and Divorce*, and the fourth paragraph of the twentieth chapter, which determines, *what opinions and parties disturb the peace of the church, and how such disturbers ought to be proceeded against, by the censures of the church, and punished by the civil magistrate.* These propositions, on which, (to use Mr. Neal's expression in his excellent History of the Puritans,) "the very life of presbytery consists, never were approved of by the English parliaments, nor had the force of a law in this country. But the whole confession, as it came from the assembly, being sent into Scotland, was immediately approved of by the general assembly and parliament of that kingdom, and thus became a law of the church and state."

While the assembly was engaged in preparing the confession, they reduced it into the form of *catechisms*; one longer, the other shorter. Both catechisms were presented by the assembly to the house of commons, approved by them, and printed by their authority.

The English puritans divaricated into many divisions; the principal of these are the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Independents. The baptists have been mentioned. The independents sprung from the *Brownists*, the most distinguished of the denominations, into which the puritans divided. Mr. Brown, its founder, was a man of talents; his object was to model his party into the form of the christian church, in its infant state.

Being dissatisfied with the treatment which he received in England, he retired to the continent, and founded churches at Middleburgh, Amsterdam, and Leyden. Thus abandoned by him, his English followers mitigated the extreme simplicity of his plan: and thus gave rise to the *Independents*, or *Congregational Brethren*. It is observable, that a part of the Brownist congregation established at Leyden, emigrated to America, and founded the colony of New England.

The independents have two confessions of faith: the former was drawn up by Mr. John Robinson, a disciple of Brown, and was published at Leyden in quarto, in the year 1619, under the title, *Apologia pro exilibus Anglis, qui Brownistæ vulgo appellantur*. The latter appeared in London, for the first time, in the year 1658, with the title, “A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised by the Congregational Churches of England, agreed upon and consented unto by their elders and messengers in their meeting at the Savoy, October the 12th, 1658.”

“ During those times, when the enthusiastic spirit met with such honour and encouragement, and was the immediate means of distinction and preferment, it was impossible, (says Mr. Hume *), to set bounds to these holy fervours, or confine within any natural limits, what was directed towards an infinite and a supernatural object. Every man,

* History, c. 47.

as prompted by the warmth of his temper, excited by emulation, or supported by his habits of hypocrisy, endeavoured to distinguish himself beyond his fellows, and to arrive at a higher pitch of saintship and perfection. In proportion to its degree of fanaticism, each sect became dangerous and destructive ; and as the independents went a note higher than the presbyterians, they could less be restrained within any bounds of temper and moderation. From this distinction, as from a first principle, were derived, by a necessary consequence, all the other differences of these two sects.

“ The independents rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, no government amongst pastors, no interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns, no fixed encouragement annexed to any system of doctrines or opinions. According to their principles, each congregation, united voluntarily and by spiritual ties, composed within itself a separate church, and exercised a jurisdiction, but one destitute of temporal sanctions, over its own pastor and its own members. The election alone of the congregation was sufficient to bestow the sacerdotal character; and, as all essential distinction was denied between the laity and the clergy, no ceremony, no institution, no vocation, no imposition of hands was, as in all other churches, supposed requisite to convey a right to holy orders. The enthusiasm of the presbyterians led them to reject

the authority of prelates, to throw off the restraint of liturgies, to retrench ceremonies, to limit the riches and authority of the priestly office. The fanaticism of the independents, exalted to a higher pitch, abolished ecclesiastical government, disdained creeds and systems, neglected every ceremony, and confounded all ranks and orders. The soldier, the merchant, the mechanic, indulging the fervours of zeal, and guided by the illapses of the spirit, resigned himself to an inward and superior direction, and was consecrated, in a manner, by an immediate intercourse and communication with heaven.

“ The catholics, pretending to an infallible guide, had justified upon that principle, their doctrine and practice of persecution. The presbyterians imagining that such clear and certain tenets, as they themselves adopted, could be rejected only from a criminal and pertinacious obstinacy, had hitherto gratified to the full, their bigotted zeal in a like doctrine and practice. The independents, from the extremity of the same zeal, were led into the milder principles of toleration. Their mind, set afloat in the wide sea of inspiration, could confine itself within no certain limits, and the same variations, in which an enthusiast indulged himself, he was apt, by a natural train of thinking, to permit in others. Of all christian sects, this was the first, which during its prosperity, as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration ; and it is remarkable, that so reasonable

a doctrine owed its origin, not to reasoning, but to the height of extravagance and fanaticism. Popery and Prelacy alone, whose genius seems to tend towards superstition, were treated by the independents with rigour. The doctrines, too, of fate or destiny were deemed by them essential to all religion. In these rigid opinions, the whole sectaries, amidst all their other differences, unanimously concurred.”

CHAP. XIII.

THE SCOTTISH CONFESsION OF FAITH.

THE reformed church of Scotland acknowledges as its founder the celebrated John Knox, a disciple of Calvin. From its foundation, it adopted the doctrine and ecclesiastical government of the church of Geneva. In 1581, King James, with his whole family, and the whole nation subscribed a confession of faith, with a solemn league and covenant, obliging themselves to maintain and defend the protestant religion, and presbyterian government. The title of this confession is, “ A General Confession of the true Christian Faith and Religion, according to God’s Word, and Acts of our Parliament, subscribed by the King’s Majestie and his household ; with sundrie others. To the glory of God, and good example of all men. At

Edinburgh, the 28th day of Januarie. The year of our Lord 1581. And in the 14th year of his Majestie's reign."

CHAP. XIV.

THE IRISH CONFESsION OF FAITH.

WHEN Henry the eighth was declared supreme head of the church of England, George Brown, an Augustinian monk, whom that monarch had raised to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin, caused the royal supremacy to be acknowledged in that portion of Ireland, which was said to be within the English pale, and in many other parts of the kingdom, where the power or influence of the English government particularly prevailed. It was further extended, by the archbishop's exertions, during the reign of king Edward the sixth. On the accession of queen Mary, the acts, which established the protestant religion, were repealed. They were re-enacted by the first parliament of queen Elizabeth, and the Irish dioceses were filled with protestant bishops. But the general body of the nation continued catholic. King James the first was very desirous of bringing over the body of the nation to the protestant religion, and employed a multitude of missionaries in the work of their conversion. They consisted chiefly of Scottish

and English puritans ; and thus, though episcopacy were the legal establishment, the reformation of Ireland had chiefly a presbyterian foundation. It being thought advisable that, in imitation of other churches, some articles of their common faith should be framed, and legally sanctioned, it was moved in convocation to adopt the articles of the English church : but the convocation came to a resolution of forming a confession of their own. Such a confession was accordingly framed by Dr. James Usher, then provost of Dublin College, and afterwards lord primate, and approved by the houses of convocation. It passed both houses of parliament ; and, being sent over to the English court, was approved in council, and ratified in the king's name, by the lord-lieutenant Chichester. The title of it is, “ Articles of Religion agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops and the rest of the clergy in Ireland, in the convocation holden at Dublin, in the year of our Lord 1615, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions and the establishing of consent touching the true religion.” This confession continued in force till the year 1634, when, by the influence of archbishop Laud, and the earl of Strafford, it was set aside, and the thirty-nine articles established in its place.

CHAP. XV.

THE CONFESsION OF FAITH OF THE ANABAPTISTS.

MOSHEIM's elaborate, though concise account of the Anabaptists, (*Cent. XIII. Pars. II. ch. 3*), is, perhaps, the best, which has yet appeared of this important denomination of christians. He mentions in it, that they are deducible from the waldenses, petrobussians and other ancient sects. "Before," (to use his own words, *Cent. XVI. c. III. sect. 2.*), "the rise of Luther and Calvin; there lay concealed in almost all the countries of Europe, particularly in Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland, and Germany, many persons who adhered tenaciously to the following doctrines, which the waldenses, wickliffites, and hussites had maintained; some in a more disguised, and others in a more open and public manner, viz. *That the kingdom of Christ, or the visible church he had established on earth, was an assembly of true and real saints, and ought therefore to be inaccessible to the wicked and unrighteous, and also exempt from all those institutions which human prudence suggests, to oppose the progress of iniquity, or to correct and reform transgressions.* This maxim is the true source of all the peculiarities, that are to be found in the religious doctrine and discipline of the anabaptists, and it is most certain, that the greatest part of these peculiarities were approved by many

of those, who before the dawn of the reformation, entertained the notion, already mentioned, relating to the visible church of Christ.” Persons of this sect were not likely to be satisfied with the system of reformation introduced by Luther. They looked upon it as much below the sublimity of their views, and proposed to found a new church, entirely spiritual and truly divine.

The most remarkable of their religious ritual related to the sacrament of baptism; they contended that it ought to be administered only to persons grown up to years of understanding, and should be performed, not by sprinkling them with water, but by dipping them into it. For this reason, they condemned the baptism of infants, and re-baptised all, whom they admitted into their society. This gave them the name of Anabaptists.

In this ceremony, there was nothing inconsistent with the order of civil society or civil government: but they held tenets absolutely incompatible with either,—“ that all things ought to be in common among the faithful; that taking interest for the loan of money, tythes and tribute ought to be entirely abolished, that, in the kingdom of Christ, civil magistrates were absolutely useless, and that God still continued to reveal his will to chosen persons by dreams and visions.” (Mosheim, Cent. XVI. c. III. sect. 5.)

At first they contented themselves with employing the arts of persuasion, to propagate their

doctrines; but they soon had recourse to violence, and involved many parts of Switzerland, Holland, and Germany, in tumult and violence. Their zeal frequently amounted to frenzy; and many sovereign states enacted severe edicts against them, and strove to repress them by capital punishments: but, for a long time, the attempt was fruitless; the unhappy objects of the edicts preferring death, in its most terrible forms, to a retraction of their errors. The scenes, which were exhibited at Munster, are generally known. In that city, and many other parts of Germany and Holland, they committed, to use the language of Mosheim, “all the enormous crimes and ridiculous follies, which the most perverse and infernal imagination could suggest.” But the recapture of the city of Munster, the painful and ignominious death, inflicted on John Bockhold, the mock monarch of it, and the sanguinary persecutions, in almost every part of Europe, of these fanatics, greatly lessened their numbers, and introduced a better spirit among the survivors.

Two things, however, should not be forgotten. In the persecution of the anabaptists religious principles were too often received as evidence of the actual commission of crime; and, even when the ferment was at its utmost height, there were not wanting among them, many, who, while they admitted the religious tenets, condemned and deplored the disorganising principles and rebellious proceedings of their brethren.

Among these, was the celebrated Simon Menno, a roman-catholic priest, who embraced the anabaptist communion. By his eloquence, learning, conciliating manners, and indefatigable exertions, he obtained the confidence of its members, and availed himself of it to restore them to social and peaceful habits. The guarded manner, in which he himself expressed and accustomed his followers to express their doctrines, disposed the public mind to view them, if not with kindness, at least with pity. Such was the reverence, in which he was held by them, and the space which he filled in the public eye, that, on the continent, they received from him the name of Mennonites, and are more frequently called on the continent, by that, than by the name of anabaptists. In this state, they are said by Mosheim to be descendants of the original anabaptists, but to be purged from the fanaticism, by which these were disgraced. Soon after Menno's decease, they branched into two divisions, the refined and the gross, or the rigid and the moderate. The former are few in number; the latter are numerous, particularly in Holland. There, under the protection of William, the first Prince of Orange, and Maurice his son, they obtained a considerable degree of legal toleration.

They have published several confessions of faith. Five of them were printed at Amsterdam, in 1675, in one volume 8vo. The most remarkable of these, is the confession composed by John de Ries, assisted by Lubert Gerard, in 1580, and that

confession signed by them in 1626, in which, by disavowing the most offensive tenets imputed to them, they successfully attempted to propitiate the favour of the United States.

The descent of the English baptists from the mennonites, and still more their descent from the anabaptist parents of these, is very problematical. With both, they agree in their administration of baptism by immersion, and the refusal of that sacrament to infants and persons in tender years: but, in almost every other particular, they differ from each. They have none of the anabaptist prejudices against lawful war and magistracy. They are divided into general or arminian baptists, and particular or calvinistic baptists. The latter are most numerous; the discipline and form of worship of both are those of the presbyterians. There cannot be a stronger contrast between two religious sects than that, which is observable between the original anabaptists and the English baptists. These have ever possessed and still possess many persons of great learning, integrity, and liberality. Among them, may be reckoned Mr. Solom Emlyn, so scandalously persecuted for his religious principles.

The calvinistic baptists published, in 1643, a confession of faith, mentioned in the *Bibliotheque Britannique*, Tom. VI. p. 2, and another confession of faith, in 1660, published by Mr. Whiston, in the *Memoirs of his Life*, Vol. II. p. 561.

At baptism, they dip once, and not three times,

and esteem it indifferent, whether the sacrament be administered in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or in that of Christ alone. They believe in a kind of millennium ; that the apostolic ordinance against things strangled was intended for perpetual observance, and that the soul, from the moment of the death of the body, remains, till the day of general resurrection, in a state of insensibility : many of them observe both the jewish and the christian sabbath. They have three ecclesiastical orders, bishops, (whom, from the language of the book of Revelations, they style messengers), elders, and deacons.

CHAP. XVI.

THE SYMBOLIC BOOKS OF THE QUAKERS.

THIS denomination of christians had rise in England during the civil wars. The founder of it was George Fox, a shoemaker, of an enthusiastic turn of mind.

To tremble at the divine judgments, was one of the duties most frequently inculcated by him and his associates. Being summoned before Mr. Justice Bennett, in 1650, they ordered the magistrate to tremble at the word of the Lord. This fixed on them the appellation of Quakers. With

this explanation, they are not unwilling to accept it: but, on account of a fundamental principle of their religion, they prefer the appellation of *Children or Confessors of the Light*. In their intercourse with one another, they constantly use the appellation of Friends.—Friends to humanity, they certainly have been; they have uniformly reprobated religious persecution, and uniformly advocated the cause of civil liberty. Their charities to the members of their own association, their incessant endeavours to promote harmony among them, their contempt of the gauds of life, and their universal beneficence, are beyond praise. We owe to them, the abolition of the slave trade; they have been the great promoters of the Lancasterian system of education; and, at this time, are actively employed in effecting the repeal of the laws, which sanction punishment by death. The method, which they adopt, to carry their salutary designs into execution, deserves the highest commendation: they collect all the facts, which serve to place the object in their view in its true light, and all the arguments which support the doctrines which they wish to inculcate. These, they assiduously circulate in every literary form, from operose disquisition, to familiar instruction. Thus, even without the slightest contentious effort, they insensibly produce a salutary effect on the public mind: and, at a propitious time, submit their plans to the legislature.

The doctrine of the quakers was refined and reduced to a consistent form, by Mr. Robert Barclay; and some of his writings are their standard books.

He first published his *Catechism*: the title of it is, “*A Catechism and Confession of Faith, approved of, and agreed unto, by the general assembly of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, Christ himself, chief speaker in and among them. Which containeth a full and faithful account of the principles and doctrines, which are most surely believed by the churches of Christ, in Great Britain and Ireland, who are reproachfully called by the name of Quakers, yet are found in the one faith with the primitive church and saints, as is clearly demonstrated by some plain scripture testimonies, without consequences or commentaries, which are here collected, and inserted by way of answer to a few weighty, yet easy and familiar expressions, fitted as well for the wisest and largest, as for the weakest and lowest capacities. To which is added, an Expostulation with, and Appeal to, all other Professors. By Robert Barclay.*” The Preface to the Reader is dated, “*From Uriel, the place of my being, in my native country, in Scotland, the 11th of the 6th month, 1675.*” It consists of 18 chapters; the 14 first, contain his *Catechism*;—the 15th, a *Short Introduction to the Confession of Faith*;—the 16th, the *Confession of Faith*, in 23 articles;—the 17th, a *short*

Expostulation, with an Appeal to all other Professors;—the 18th, a short Examination of some of the Scripture Proofs alleged by the Divines at Westminster, to prove diverse articles in their Confession of Faith and Catechism."

Not long after the publication of his catechism, Mr. Robert Barclay published his *Theses Theologicæ*, with the following address: " To the Clergy, of what sort soever, unto whose hands soever these may come ; but more particularly to the doctors, professors, and students of divinity in the universities and schools of Great Britain, whether prelatical, presbyterian, or any other ; Robert Barclay, a servant of the Lord God, and one of those, who, in derision, are called Quakers, wishes unfeigned repentance, unto the acknowledgement of the faith."

It was speedily followed by his " *Apology for the true Christian Divinity ; being an explanation and vindication of the Principles and Doctrines of the persons called Quakers ;*" with a Dedication to Charles the second, dated the 25th of November, 1675. It is a logical demonstration of the propositions in the *Theses Theologicæ* ; and is universally allowed to shew an uncommon power of mind. It was immediately translated into almost every European language, and presented to all the ministers at the congress of Nimeguen.

These are the symbolic and standard books of

the Friends. It has been alleged, that they are expressed so guardedly, as to conceal, in some measure, their real doctrine, or, at least, its ultimate tendency. These, it is said, are more easily discoverable from "*The Christian Quaker, and his Divine Testimony, vindicated by Scripture, reason, and authorities, against the injurious attempts that have been lately made by several adversaries.*"

This work appeared in 1674; the first part of it was written by Penn, and the second by Whithead, one of his most distinguished disciples.

A P P E N D I X.

NOTE I.

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH OF THE EASTERN CHURCH.

(Referred to in page 26.)

I.

The Title of the Confession, and the Pastoral Letter prefixed to it.

THE title of this work is, “*Ορθοδοξος Ομολογια της Καθολικης και Αποστολικης Εκκλησιας της Ανατολικης.* *Hoc est, Orthodoxa Confessio Catholicæ atque Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ Orientalis, cum interpretatione Latinâ et Versione Germanicâ.* *Præmissa est Historia hujus Ομολογιας seu Catechismi, a D. Carlo Gottlob. Hofmann S. S. Theol. Prof. Primar. in Academia Wittebergensi Consist. Past. et circ. Elect. Saxon. General. Superintend. Wratislaviæ, apud Jo. Jacob. Horn. MDCCLII. oct. p. 259.*”

The catechism is preceded by an historical account of its composition and publication: this is followed by an address, or, what would be called in Europe, a pastoral letter, from Nectarius, “ by the grace of God, patriarch of the holy city of Jerusalem, and all Palestine; to all orthodox readers, his beloved brethren, and sons in the Lord.” It is dated the 20th Nov. 1662. We are then presented with a letter, of which the following is a literal translation:

“ Parthenius, by the mercy of God, archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome; and oecumenical patriarch. Our mediocrity, together with our sacred congregation of chief bishops and clergy present, hath diligently perused a small book, transmitted to us by our true sister, the church of Lesser Russia, entitled, *The Confession of the Orthodox Faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ;*” in which the whole subject is treated under the three heads of *Faith*, *Charity*, and *Hope*, in such a manner, that *Faith* is divided into twelve articles, (to wit, those of the sacred Nicene symbol), *Charity* into ten precepts, and such other precepts as are contained in the sacred and divinely inspired books of the Old and New Testament, which christians are bound to hold: *Hope*, into the dominical prayer, and the nine beatitudes of the sacred gospel.

“ We have found that this small book follows steadily the doctrines of the catholic church, and

agrees with the sacred canons, and, in no respect differs from them. As to the rest, to the other part of the book, that which is in the Latin tongue, on the side opposite to the Greek text, we have not referred, in our perusal ; so that we only formally confirm that which is in our vernacular tongue. With our common and synodical sentence, we decree, and we announce to every pious and orthodox christian, a member of the eastern and apostolic church, that this book is to be diligently read, and not to be rejected. Which, for the perpetual faith and certainty of the fact, we guard by our subscriptions. In the year of salvation, 1663, 4th day of March.”

Then follow the subscriptions of,

“ Parthenius, by the divine mercy, archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome ; and œcumencial patriarch ;

“ Joannicius, by the mercy of God, pope and patriarch of the great city of Alexandria, and judge of the whole world ;

“ Macarius, by the mercy of God, patriarch of Antioch, the great city of God ;

“ Paisius, by the mercy of God, patriarch of the holy city of Jerusalem ;

“ The bishops of Aneyra, Larissæ, Chalcedon, Adrianople, Berrhæa, Rhodes, Mythymnæ, Lace-dæmon, and Chios ;

And of thirteen church officers.

II.

The First Book of the Catechism.

THE catechism is divided into three books.

The first book contains, one hundred and twenty-six questions, and as many answers.

II. 1. The first question is, “ *What must an orthodox and catholic christian hold and perform, that he may become, at a future time, heir of eternal life?* ”

The answer is,—“ Right faith and good works ; for he, who observes these, is a good christian, and hath the hope of eternal salvation : witness the sacred scripture, (James ii. 24.), ‘ *Do you see that man is justified by works, and not by faith only :* ’ and, a little after, ‘ *For, as the body, without the spirit, is dead ; so faith, without works, is dead.* ’ The divine Paul adds the same in another place, (1 Timothy, i. 19.), ‘ *Having faith and a good conscience, which some having put away, have been shipwrecked in respect to their faith :* ’ and, in another place, he says, (1 Timothy, iii. 9.), ‘ *Having the mystery of faith with a pure conscience.* ’ ”

The second question is, “ Why should a christian first believe, and afterwards do good actions? ”

—To this it is answered, “ Because none can please God without faith, according to the saying of Paul, (Heb. xi. 6.). ‘ *It cannot be, that,*

without faith, any person should please God; for it is necessary that he, who approacheth to God, should believe that HE is, and that HE is the rewarder of those, who seek him diligently.' Therefore, that a christian should be acceptable to God, and that his works should be grateful to him, it behoveth him, first to have faith; then, that he should compose and conform his life to the rule of faith."

The third question is, "In what things do these two consist?" It is answered, "In the three theological virtues: in faith, in hope, in charity."

This serves as a preliminary chapter.

II. 2. The first part of the catechism begins with the question, "What is faith?" "Faith," it is answered, "is, according to the blessed Paul, (Heb. xi. 1.), 'the substance of those things, which are hoped for, and the evidence of those things not seen. And, for this, the ancients obtained a good testimony.' Or, faith may be defined thus; *The orthodox, catholic, and apostolic faith, is to believe in the heart, and to profess by the mouth, One God, and three persons;* (τρισυντοστατον), according to the doctrine of Paul himself, (Rom. x. 10.), 'By the heart it is believed to justice: by the mouth, confession is made to salvation.' Moreover, the orthodox christian should believe, (Synod. vi. Can. xxxii.), all the articles of faith, which the catholic and

orthodox church believes, delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ, through his apostles, to his church, and exposed and approved by the œcumical councils ; and these, he is bound to embrace, with true faith, according to the precept of the apostle, (2 Thess. ii. 15.), ‘ *Therefore do you, brethren, persist to hold the traditions which you have learned from our speech, or by letter.*’ Again, in another place, (1 Cor. xi. 2.), ‘ *I praise you, brethren, because you hold all my words in memory, and because you retain the traditions, as I delivered them to you.*’ From this, it is manifest, that the articles of faith owe their authority and approbation, partly to the sacred scripture, partly to ecclesiastical tradition, and the doctrine of the councils, and the holy fathers.” In confirmation of this doctrine, a passage from the works of St. Dyonysius the Areopagite, (Hier. Ecc. c. 1. page 108, ed. Morell), is cited.

The catechism then proceeds in these words : “ The dogmata of the church are two in number, and of two kinds : some are consigned in the writings, which are comprised in the divine books of sacred scripture. Others were delivered by the apostles, by their living voice. And these are the doctrines, which afterwards were more fully declared by the councils and the holy fathers ; and, on those two foundations, faith is superstructed.”

II. 3: By the fifth question, it is inquired, “ *How many are the articles of the catholic and*

orthodox faith?" It is answered, that " they are twelve, according to the symbol of the first council of Nice, and the second of Constantinople: in which councils, all things which appertain to our faith, are so accurately expressed, that nothing more and nothing less should be believed by us, nor should they be believed in any other sense or understanding, than that, in which those fathers understood them."

II. 4. The *Twelve Articles* are then successively propounded and explained.

In the explanation of the FIRST ARTICLE, *I believe in God, the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth*, much is said of the being and attributes of the Deity, and the fall of man; on providence, fate, and free-will; and on the nature and office of angels. The good angels are described, as incessantly employed in singing the praises of God. Kingdoms, churches, monasteries, individuals, are said to be committed to their care; and it is added, that under the direction and pleasure of the Almighty, they render innumerable services to man. The bad angels are said to have fell from their state of happiness by their own fault, and to be the enemies of man.

The SECOND ARTICLE, " *And in our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, and born of the Father before all ages; God of God; begotten, not made, consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things were made:*" is expressed in

the same terms as ours. The answer to the ninth question acknowledges, unequivocally, the consubstantiality of the Son, and proves it by the Three Heavenly Witnesses mentioned in 1 John, v. 7.

The THIRD ARTICLE, as it is expressed in the roman-catholic and English liturgies, “ *Who, for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man,*” is discussed at some length. It commences at the thirty-seventh question. In the Greek text, as it is given in the catechism, there may be thought to be more than a literal variation from that of the roman-catholic and English versions. The expression in the Greek text is σαρκωθέντ’ ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου, *incarnatus est ex Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine—incarnate of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary.*

On the part, which mentions that the Son of God “ was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary,” the catechism inculcates the necessity and utility of devotion to the Virgin Mary, in the following words, in its 40, 41, and 42d answers—“ As Mary, the Virgin Mother of God, was held worthy to fulfil so great a mystery, all the orthodox, as is just and pious, ought, in justice and according to her merit, to praise and venerate her, as the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ; or rather, as the mother of God. For which reason,

the church has framed a salutation of her, from the words of the Archangel and St. Elizabeth ; and to this, the church has made a small addition of her own.” It states the salutation in the following words : “ *O Virgin ! Mother of God ! Full of Grace ! the Lord is with thee ! Blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed the fruit of thy womb ; because thou hast begotten the Saviour of our souls* :—This, the church, in virtue of her right and authority, has ordered,—that the blessed Virgin should be frequently and earnestly worshipped, and celebrated by this salutation. Moreover, the salutation, when it calls the Virgin, *Full of Grace*, teaches, that because she is the mother of God, she partakes of divine grace, in a greater degree, than any other created being ; and, on that account, deservedly extols her above the cherubs and seraphs. For, advanced far beyond the choirs of the angels, she stands with all her honours and dignity at the right hand of her Son, according to the language of David, (Psalm xlv.), ‘ The queen sits at your right hand, in gilded robes, dressed in various colours.’ Now the orthodox christian ought to recite the salutation, and implore the intercession of the Virgin with great devotion. For the prayer of the Virgin is of great weight with the piety of the Son.”

The FOURTH ARTICLE, “ was crucified for us, under Pontius Pilate, suffered and was buried,” is the subject of the 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50,

and 51st questions and answers. The 50th answer inculcates the necessity of the frequent use of the sign of the cross, and quotes St. Cyril, the bishop of Jerusalem, in the beginning of the 5th century, for his recommendation to the faithful, to make “ *the venerable sign of the cross, when they eat, drink, sit, walk, speak, or are silent; to begin nothing without previously making it, to make it at home, on the road, by day, by night, and in every place.*” (Catec. XIII.) The catechism then describes, in the following words, the method of making the sign of the cross: “ First, with the three first fingers, touch the forehead, and say, ‘ *In the name of the Father:*’ then, bring down the hand, in the same form, to the breast, and say, ‘ *And of the Son:*’ then, move the hand to the right shoulder, and say, ‘ *And of the Holy Ghost,*’ moving the hand, while you say these words, from the right to the left shoulder, and conclude with the word ‘ *Amen.*’ ” This form of making the sign of the cross differs from the form, in use in the western church. The words are the same, and the figure of the cross is observed; but, in the western church, the hand is moved from the breast to the left shoulder, and thence to the right. Some have supposed that this difference between the Greek and western churches is owing to the difference of opinion between them, on the procession of the Holy Ghost:—But cardinal Bona, (Op. 824),

mentions the form used in the Greek church, as a form used in ancient times, in some parts of the Latin churches. In making the sign of the cross, the Greek priests generally bow to the ground, and almost touch it with their foreheads ; their ease and rapidity in doing it can scarcely be conceived by those, by whom it has not been seen.

The FIFTH ARTICLE, “ Who, on the third day rose again according to the scriptures,” employs the 52, 53, and 54th questions and answers.

The SIXTH ARTICLE is expressed in the following words : “ Who ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father ;”—and employs one question and answer. In the latter, this article is said to contain four articles of faith :—1st, “ That Christ ascended into heaven, and, with glory and praise, took his seat at the right hand of the Father, in the same body as that in which he had suffered on the cross, and rose from the dead.—2dly, That he ascended into heaven, so far only as he was man ; for that, as God, he always was in heaven, and all other places.—3dly, That Christ, having once assumed human nature from the blessed Virgin, never laid it down, and that, clothed with the same body, he will come to judgment.—4thly, That Christ, now, is in heaven only ; and is not on earth, in that mode of his body, which he formerly used, while he resided on earth ; but that, in the sacramental mode, in which he is present in the sacred table, he is, by transubstantiation, present on

earth, the same Son of God, both God and man. For the substance of bread is changed into the substance of the sacred body, and the substance of wine into the substance of his precious blood:—wherefore, it behoves us to venerate and adore the sacred eucharist, as our Saviour Jesus Christ himself.”

The SEVENTH ARTICLE is expressed in these terms: “ And shall come again in glory, to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end;” and employs the 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, and 68th questions and answers. These articles explain the doctrines of the Greek church on the condition of the dead. It seems to consist of the eight following points:—1. That Christ is to return to earth, and judge all mankind:—2. That he is to judge them according to their thoughts, words, and deeds:—3. That a sentence of eternal happiness or eternal misery will then be pronounced on each individual, but that the judgment on each will be generally manifested, not separately pronounced:—4. Yet that, though each person at his death is separately judged, the sentence is not executed till the day of judgment, their knowledge of it forming between their deaths and the universal judgment, their happiness or misery:—5. That the happiness of the good, and the misery of the wicked, in the next life, differs in degree, but endures for eternity:—6. That there is no middle place, in which the soul is purged of his crimes

by temporary suffering :—7. But that many are snatched and liberated from the gates of hell, in consequence of the pious works and prayers of the survivors ; and particularly in consequence of the unbloody sacrifice, which the church offers for the living and the dead :—8. But that the dead do not participate of the prayers and sacrifices offered for them ; these being in the nature of suffrages or intercessions with God.

The EIGHTH ARTICLE ;—is expressed in the catechism, in the following terms :—“ And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceeds from the Father ; and, together with the Father and Son, is adored and glorified, and who spoke by the prophets.” This article employs the 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, and 81st questions and answers.

It is generally known that the great point of difference between the Latin and Greek churches, is, that the former maintains, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and the latter maintains that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only. The opinion of each church is anathematised by the other.

A second charge is brought by the Greeks against the Latins, that they interpolated the genuine text of the Nicene Creed, by foisting into the text, the words, “ *and the Son—Filioque.*” On this point, three things are clear,—1st, That the words were inserted in the French and Spanish copies of the creed,

before they were inserted in the Roman ; 2d, That Pope Leo the third, though from the beginning, he explicitly avowed and propounded the double procession of the Holy Spirit, yet disapproved, in the first instance, of the insertion of the words in question in the symbol, as an alteration of the original text ; 3d, But that, soon after they had been inserted by the French and Spanish churches, they were inserted and chaunted in the Roman liturgies. (See *Petav. Dogmata Theologica*, l. 7. p. 362). Through the whole of the dispute, the conduct of Leo was marked with great good sense and moderation. When the Missi of Charlemagne pressed him to declare, that all who rejected the *Filioque*, or at least, all who rejected the doctrine must be damned, he checked their precipitancy ; “ all,” he said, “ are not capable of understanding the higher mysteries : he, who is capable of understanding them, and will not, cannot be saved.”— (*Collect. Conc. tom. ix. p. 277, 286*).

The NINTH ARTICLE of the Creed,—“ I believe in the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church,” —begins with the 97th question and answer. The Catholic church is said to contain all particular catholic churches. A primacy of rank is said to have been assigned to the church of Jerusalem, for its being the only church, that was favoured with the presence of Christ ; the first church, that was honoured by the preaching of the gospel, the first, that received the forgiveness of sins, and the blessing

of salvation, and the church, from which the tidings of the gospel were propagated throughout the world. —Afterwards, (continues the catechism), the emperors conferred a superiority of rank on ancient and new Rome, as the seats of empire, and it was confirmed to them by the 3d canon of the second œcumenical council of Constantinople.

The catechism reckons nine precepts of the church. 1. To assist on Sundays or holidays at the divine offices of the church : 2. To observe the four solemn fasts : 3. To reverence the ministers of God, as spiritual fathers : 4. To make a confession of sins, four times a year, to a priest regularly ordained : 5. To avoid reading the books of heretics : 6. To pray to God for every state and order of men : 7. To observe the fasts and devotions commanded by the metropolitan or diocesan bishop : 8. To respect the property of the church, and provide her ministers with a suitable maintenance : 9. Not to solemnize marriages in times forbidden by the church.

The questions and answers on the TENTH ARTICLE of the Nicene Creed ;—“ I confess one baptism for the remission of sins,” extend from the 97th to the 120th. “ Baptism,” says the catechism, “ being the first mystery of the church, this seems a proper place to discuss her seven mysteries ; baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, priesthood, honourable marriage, and extreme unction. These answer to

the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, because, by them the Holy Ghost infuses his gifts and graces on those, who use the sacraments properly: on which subject, the patriarch Hieremias treats at length, in his book for converting the lutherans."

"A mystery is a certain holy ceremony, which, under a visible sign, is the cause of invisible grace, and infuses it into the soul; it is instituted by our Lord, and by it each of the faithful receives grace."

The catechism then explains these mysteries successively. Respecting the eucharist, (question and answer 106), it says,—“under the visible species of bread and wine, Jesus Christ is present truly and properly, that is, in reality.” It then, (question and answer 107), describes the ceremony, and thus proceeds,—“At the instant of the consecration, the priest is to say, O God! send down thy spirit from heaven upon us, and upon these proffered gifts. Make the bread, the precious body of thy Christ; and that, which is in the cup, make the precious blood of thy Christ; transforming them by the Holy Spirit. While he pronounces these words, the transubstantiation (*μετουσιωσις*), is instantaneously effected; the bread is changed into the true body of Christ, the wine into his true blood, the species of each remaining visible by the divine disposition. Both priests and laity should participate of this mystery under both kinds, viz. both of the bread and the wine. Moreover the

honour shewn to these tremendous mysteries, should be equal and similar to that which is shewn to Christ himself.”

The ELEVENTH ARTICLE, “ I expect the resurrection of the dead,” employs the 120, 121, 122, 123, and 124th questions and answers.

The TWELFTH ARTICLE, “ and the life of the world to come,” employs the three remaining questions and answers.

III.

The second and third parts of the Catechism.

THE 2d and 3d parts of the Catechism, treat principally of the duties of man:—as the present work is confined to the creeds of Christians, a slight mention only, of these parts of the catechism suits this place.

The SECOND PART contains a brief exposition of the Lord’s Prayer. The words, “ For thine are the kingdom and power and glory for ever,” are mentioned as an epilogue to the prayer. The answer to the 28th question, observes, that speaking generally, these words, when a clergyman is present, should be pronounced by the clergyman only, on account of the loftiness of the sentiment which they express: but recommends that they never should be omitted.

Nine Beatitudes are reckoned:—The verse (v. Mat. 11.), “ Blessed are ye, when they shall revile you, and persecute you, and speak all that is

naught against you, for my sake: rejoice and exult, for great is your reward in heaven," form the ninth. In treating of the beatitude of the merciful, the catechism reckons seven works of spiritual, and seven of corporal mercy. This part of the catechism contains 63 questions, and as many answers.

The THIRD PART contains 72; and treats of good works, the four cardinal virtues, prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance; original and voluntary sin, the seven capital sins, pride, avarice, fornication, envy, gluttony, desire of revenge, and sloth. Of despair and presumption; of the three sins against the Holy Ghost; of murder, oppression of the poor, and undutifulness to parents, —sins which, even in this life, are said to bring down Divine vengeance on the offenders:—of venial sins; of the manner by which we become guilty of the sins of others; of the two commandments of Christ; and the ten precepts which are derived from them. The worship of God alone, is said not to forbid the invocation of the saints, as friends, through whose intercession God sometimes pleases to bestow his favours.

The fifth answer states, that "there is a great difference between images and idols. For idols are mere works or inventions of men, as the apostle testifies, when he says, (1 Cor. viii. 4.), 'we know that an idol is nothing in the world.' But an image is the representation of a thing that really

exists in the world. Such is the image of our Lord and Saviour Christ ; and the images of the holy Virgin Mary and all the saints. Moreover, the pagans adored the idols as gods ; believing, as did Nebuchodinoser of old, that the gold and silver of them was God. ~~X~~ But, when we venerate and adore images, we do not worship the colours tinctured on the wood, or the wood itself ; but we worship the saints represented by the images, with that kind of veneration which is termed *Dulia* : thus bringing their presence into our minds, as if we beheld them with our eyes. For example, when we adore the images of Jesus crucified, then, in the eye of the mind, we place Christ himself, hanging on the cross for our salvation : and we bend our heads and knees to him, with a religious act of thankfulness. In the same manner, when we venerate the image of the Virgin Mary, then we ascend in mind to the most holy mother of God, and bend our head, and bend our knee to her. It is clear, therefore, that this adoration of holy images, received in the orthodox church, does not derogate from the precept. For it is not the same adoration as that which we pay to God ; nor is it paid by the orthodox to the image or painting, but to the persons of those saints, which the images represent.”

NOTE II.

(Referred to in page 73.)

The VISITATORIAL ARTICLES published in 1502, in the electorate and provinces of UPPER SAXONY, and proposed and ordered to be subscribed and observed by the judges of consistories, superintendents, ministers of churches and schools, and by the administrators of ecclesiastical property, and also by patrons and collectors.

ARTICLE I.—On the Sacred Supper.

The pure and true Doctrine of our Church, on the Sacred Supper.

I. THAT the words of Christ, “Take and eat, This is my Body; Drink, This is my Blood;” are to be taken simply, and according to the letter, as they sound.

II. That, in the Sacrament, there are two things, which are exhibited and received together; one, earthly, which is bread and wine; the other, heavenly, which is the body and blood of Christ.

III. That the union, exhibition and sumption are done here below, on the earth ; and not above, in the heavens.

IV. That the true and natural body of Christ, which hung on the cross, and the true and natural blood, which flowed from the side of Christ, are exhibited and received.

V. That the body and blood of Christ are received in the Supper, not only spiritually by faith, which might be done out of the Supper ; but, by the mouth, with the bread and wine ; yet, in an inscrutable and supernatural manner ; and this, for a pledge and ascertainment of the resurrection of our bodies from the dead.

VI. That the perception of the body and blood of Christ by the mouth, is had, not only by the worthy, but also by the unworthy, who approach it without penance and true faith ; but with different effect.—By the worthy, it is received for salvation ; by the unworthy, for judgment.

ART. II.—Of the Person of Christ.

The pure and true Doctrine of our Church on the Articles of the Person of Christ.

I. In Christ, there are two distinct natures, the divine and human. These remain eternally, unconfined and inseparable (or undivided).*

* The words in the parenthesis are in the original.

II. These two natures are personally, and in one another so united, that there is but one Christ and one person.

III. On account of this personal union, it is rightly said, and in fact and truth it really is, that God is man, and man is God ; that Mary begat the Son of God ; and that God redeemed us by his own proper blood.

IV. By this personal union, and the exaltation which followed it, Christ, according to the flesh, is placed at the right hand of God, and has received all power in heaven and in earth, and is made partaker of all the divine majesty, honour, power, and glory.

ART. III.—Of Holy Baptism.

The pure and true Doctrine of our Church on this Article of Holy Baptism.

I. THAT there is but one Baptism, and one ablution ; not that, which is used to take away the filth of the body, but that, which washes us from our sins.

II. By baptism, as a bath of the regeneration and renovation of the Holy Ghost, God saves us, and works in us, such justice and purgation from our sins, that he, who perseveres to the end in that covenant and hope, does not perish, but has eternal life.

III. All, who are baptized in Jesus Christ, are baptized in his death ; and, by baptism, are buried with him in his death, and have put on Christ.

IV. Baptism is the bath of regeneration ; because in it, we are born again, and again sealed by the Spirit of adoption, from favour (or gratuitously).*

V. Unless a person be born again of water and spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.

VI. Whatever is born of the flesh is flesh ; and, by nature, all of us are children of divine wrath : because we are born of sinful seed, and we are all born in sin.

ART. IV.—On Predestination and the Eternal Providence of God.

The pure and true Doctrine of our Church on this Article.

I. THAT Christ died for all men, and, as the Lamb of God, took away the sins of the world.

II. That God created no man for condemnation ; but wills that all men should be saved, and arrive at the knowledge of truth : He therefore commands all to hear Christ, his Son, in the Gospel ; and promises, by his hearing, the virtue and operation of the Holy Ghost, for conversion and salvation.

III. That many men, by their own fault, perish ; some, who will not hear the Gospel respecting

* The words in the parenthesis are in the original.

Christ ; some, who afterwards fall from grace, either by fundamental error, or by sins against conscience.

IV. That all sinners, doing penance, will be received into favour ; and none will be excluded, though his sins be red as blood ; as the mercy of God is greater than the sins of the whole world, and God hath mercy on all his works.

The FALSE and ERRONEOUS DOCTRINE of the CALVINISTS follows.

On the sacred Supper.

I. THAT the before-cited words of Christ are to be understood figuratively, and not according to the letter, as they sound.

II. That bare signs only are in the Supper ; but the body of Christ is as far from the bread, as the highest heaven from the earth.

III. That Christ is present therein, by his virtue and operation, and not in his body. As the sun, by his splendor and operation, is present and effective on earth ; but the body of the sun exists above in heaven.

IV. That the body of Christ is therein a typified body, which is only signified and prefigured by the bread and wine.

V. That the body is received by faith alone, which raiseth itself to heaven, and not by the mouth.

VI. That the worthy only receive it, that the unworthy, who have not the faith, which ariseth to the heavens, receive nothing besides bread and wine.

The false and erroneous doctrine of the Calvinists, on the Person of Christ : which differs, in particular, from the third and fourth Article of the more pure doctrine.

I. THAT God, is man, and man God, is a figurative mode of speech.

II. That human nature hath communion with the divine, not in fact and truth, but in name and words only.

III. That it is impossible to God, by all his omnipotence, to effect, that the natural body of Christ, which is in one place, should, at the same time and instant, be in several.

IV. That, according to his human nature, Christ hath, by his exaltation, received only created good and finite power ; and doth not know and cannot do all things.

V. That, according to his humanity, Christ reigns, where he is absent, as the King of Spain governs his Islands.

VI. That it is a damnable idolatry, to place the hope and faith of the heart in Christ, not singly according to his divine, but also according to his human nature, and to direct the honour of adoration to both.

*The false and erroneous doctrine of the Calvinists,
on Holy Baptism.*

I. THAT Baptism is an external washing, by which a certain internal ablution from sin is merely signified.

II. That Baptism does not work, nor confer regeneration, faith, the grace of God, and salvation, but only signifies and seals them.

III. That not all, who are baptized in water, but the elect only, obtain by it the grace of Christ, and the gifts of faith.

IV. That salvation doth not depend on baptism, and therefore in cases of necessity, should not be permitted in the church; but when the ordinary minister of the church is wanting, the infant should be permitted to die without baptism.*

V. The infants of Christians are already holy before baptism, in the womb of the mother; and, even in the womb of the mother, are received into the covenant of eternal life: otherwise the sacrament of baptism could not be conferred on them.

* This article stands in the original, “*Salutem non dependere a Baptismo, atque ideo, in casu necessitatis, non permittendum esse, in Ecclesiâ; sed in defectu ordinarii ministri Ecclesiæ, permittendum esse, ut infans sinè Baptismo moriatur.*” The case of necessity referred to in this place, seems to denote the circumstance, where a minister cannot be

*The false and erroneous doctrine of the Calvinists,
on Predestination, and the Providence of God.*

I. That Christ did not die for all men, but only for the elect.

II. That Christ created the greater part of mankind for eternal damnation, and wills not that the greater part should be converted and live.

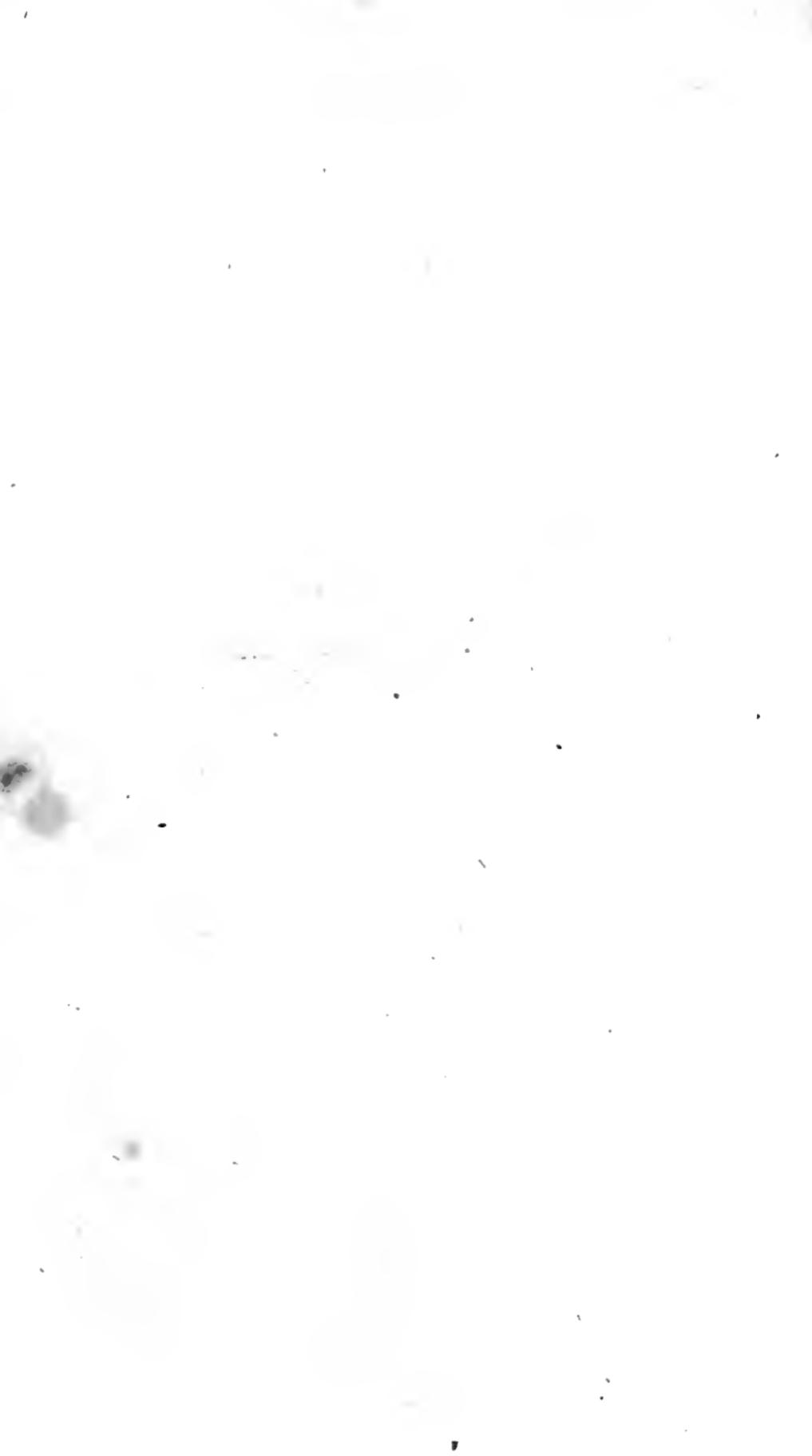
III. That the elected and regenerated cannot lose faith and the Holy Spirit, or be damned, though they commit great sins and crimes of every kind.

IV. That those, who are not elect, are necessarily damned, and cannot arrive at salvation, though they be baptized a thousand times, and receive the eucharist every day, and lead as blameless a life, as ever can be led.

procured in time to baptize the child, while he lives. The article seems to assert it to be a doctrine of the calvinists, that baptism, being merely a rite, and not being necessary to salvation, and the minister being, by the discipline of their church, the only proper minister of baptism, it is improper, that, even in this case of necessity, it should be conferred by any other; and the child therefore should, in such a case, die without baptism.



E S S A Y S.



ESSAYS.

ESSAY I.

A short HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of the principal MONASTIC ORDERS of the CHURCH of ROME.

THE following Essay may be found to give a succinct account.—I. Of the nature of religious profession, in respect to the vows taken by persons entering into religion, of obedience, poverty, chastity, and stability : II. Of the Eastern monks : III. Of the Western monks, or Benedictines ; of the congregations, which have diverged from them ; and of the introduction of lay-brothers into the monastic state : IV. Some account of the Canons Regular of St. Austin : V. Of the four Mendicant Orders, the Franciscan, Dominican and Carmelite friars, and the hermits of St. Augustin : VI. Of the Society of Jesus : VII. Of the Oratorian, Lazarist, and Sulpician communities : and VIII. Of the Military Orders of the church of Rome.

Those, who wish to see these subjects more fully treated, may consult *l'Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, Religieux et Militaires*, 8 vols. 4to, by

father Helyot, a Franciscan friar. This work, and the particular historians which we shall notice in this Essay, will give the reader an accurate view of the rules and constitutions of the several orders.

I.

EVERY Christian is bound, by his baptismal vows, to practise the precepts of the Gospel. A religious person, in the sense in which that word is used in the ecclesiastical law of the church of Rome, is a person, engaged by a solemn vow to practise, during his whole life, the counsels of the Gospel, in a mode, prescribed by a rule, approved by the pope. *A vow*, is a promise made to God, to perform a good work, which is not a duty of obligation. *A simple vow*, is a vow made secretly, and without solemnity; *a solemn vow*, is a vow made with certain public ceremonies. The vow, made by a person, who professes himself of a religious order, is a solemn vow. The person received into such an order pronounces, in public, the formulary of the vow prescribed by the order, and signs the formulary with his hand; it is then registered. To the validity of THE RELIGIOUS VOW OF PROFESSION, the Council of Trent requires, that the party should have completed his sixteenth year, and should have passed through a year's novitiate.

In the early ages of the monastic state, those, who engaged in it, did not bind themselves to

it by vow: when a vow was first made an essential part of monastic profession, is uncertain.

The vows of every religious order oblige the persons, who make them, to obedience, poverty, chastity and stability.

I. 1. The vow of *obedience* obliges them to a perfect submission to the rule of the order; and also to the will of the superior, in all things, not inconsistent with the law of God, or the word or spirit of the rule.

I. 2. The vow of *poverty* renders the person, who takes it, incapable of inheriting or acquiring property, except for the benefit of the order; and renders his enjoyment, even of the slightest article of property, as a book or a watch, absolutely dependent on the will of his superior. In respect to his inheriting or acquiring property for the benefit of the order, it is to be observed, that, in some countries, as in certain parts of Italy, it is modified, in others, as in France, it is altogether prohibited, by the national law. Where it is prohibited, the religious person, in respect to property, is supposed to be civilly dead. This was the case in England before the Reformation; and it deserves attention, that the English law did not then notice or admit the proof of foreign profession, and therefore did not interfere with the property, in this country, of any person, professed abroad. The reason was, that if, in the English secular courts, it became necessary to ascertain, whether a person were a pro-

fessed religious, the judges issued a writ, addressed to the bishop of the diocese, in which the party was alleged to have been professed, directing him to inquire and certify, whether the party were a professed monk, or not ; and the bishop's certificate was the only regular evidence of the fact. Now, as a foreign bishop was not amenable to the jurisdiction of an English court, such a writ could not be effectually served on him.

I. 3. The vow of *chastity* consists in the renunciation of marriage.

I. 4. In the formulary of profession used in the Benedictine and some other orders, the party expressly vows *stability*, or perpetual residence, within the monastery, unless the superior dispenses with it. Where the vow does not express stability, it is always implied. But, stability is understood, in some orders, in a much looser sense, than it is in others.

II.

THE Monastic state originated IN THE EAST. In the earliest ages of Christianity, many persons, in imitation of the Rechabites, the prophets, and St. John the Baptist, under the Judaic dispensation, embraced a life of solitude, and dedicated all their time to prayer, fasting, and other exercises of a penitential life. Cassian mentions that, in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, a large number of Christians lived in separate houses, apart from the world, and wholly devoted to prayer, pious

meditation, and silent labour. They were called “Monks,” from a Greek word, signifying, a person living alone. For the same purpose of pious retirement, others, particularly in times of persecution, retired to inaccessible mountains or lonely deserts. Of these, the first whose name has reached us, is St. Paul, usually called the first hermit. In the 250th year of the Christian æra, he retired to the Upper Egypt; and, having attained his 113th year, died in 341. About the same time, St. Anthony, after spending many years in perfect solitude, permitted a numerous body of men to live in community with him, and to lead, under his direction, a life of piety and manual labour, sanctified by prayer.

St. Pachomius was the first who composed a written rule for the conduct of monks. The communities under his direction inhabited the desert of Tabenne, an island in the Nile, between the town of Girgè and the ancient Thebes. Thirty or forty of them occupied one house; thirty or forty houses composed a monastery, and the desert of Tabenne contained about thirteen monasteries. A dean was placed over every ten monks; every house had its superior, every monastery its abbot, and a general director superintended all. Every Sunday, all the monks of the monastery met at its common oratory: and, at Easter, the monks of all the communities, sometimes amounting to 50,000, assembled in one body for its celebration. It some-

times happened, that, after passing several years of a monastic life, a monk, aiming at higher perfection, retired, with that view, to a stricter solitude. This divided the monks into two classes, the *Cœnobites*, who lived in community, and the *Anchorites*, who lived in separate cells. Each separate cell was sometimes bounded by a small inclosure; their general precinct was called a *Laura*. With such establishments, *Ægypt* and *Libya* abounded. The number of these monastic establishments was very great: almost all of them were destroyed by the Saracens: the few, which remain, are described by Father Sicard, (*Missions du Levant*, tom. 11. pa. 29—79, tom. v. pa. 122—200.)

Such was the origin of the monastic state.—Nothing in sacred biography is more interesting than the accounts of its founders, and their most eminent disciples. These were written by their contemporaries, and have been translated into almost every modern language.—Every roman-catholic recollects with pleasure, the exquisite delight, with which, when he was at school, he perused the Lives of the Venerable Fathers of the Desert, the name assigned to them by the roman-catholic church; as they are written by Arnaud d'Andilly in his *Vies des Pères du Désert*, 3 vols. 8vo, or 2 vols. 4to: by Villefore, in his *Vies des Saints Pères des Déserts d'Orient et d'Occident*, 5 vols. 12mo: by Rossweide in his *Histoires des Vies des Pères des Déserts* 1 vol. fol: by the late Dr.

Challoner, in his *Lives of the Fathers of the Desert*, 1 vol; 8vo. and by Mr. Alban Butler, in his *Lives of the Saints*, of which a stereotype edition, in twelve volumes octavo, with elegant engravings, has lately appeared.

Similar establishments of monastic communities, but much fewer in number, were established for the female sex.

III.

ST. ATHANASIUS introduced the MONASTIC STATE INTO THE WEST.

III. 1. About two hundred years after its introduction, ST. BENEDICT, an Italian monk, framed his religious rule for the government of a convent at Mount Cassino, between Rome and Naples, over which he presided. It was formed on that of St. Pachomius, and contained the same division of time, for prayer and manual labour: the same silence and the same solitude; but some relaxation in the article of diet. St. Pachomius allowed his disciples twelve ounces of biscuit, to be taken by them at two repasts; one, early in the afternoon; the other, late in the evening, with an occasional, but not a very frequent allowance of cheese, fruit, herbs, and small dried fish. Meat was expressly forbidden by St. Benedict, to be served to his disciples, except in serious illness. They were indulged by him, with a daily allowance of half a pint of wine: which his disciples exchanged, in the northern climates, for a proportional allowance

of strong beer or cider. His rule was embraced by all the monks of the West.

Among the benefactors to humanity, none, perhaps, are entitled to a higher rank than the disciples of St. Benedict. A celebrated protestant historian, M. Mallèt, in his *Histoire des Suisses ou Helvetiens*, (tom. 1. p. 105), expresses his opinion of the services rendered by them to society, in the following terms :

“ The christian clergy, like the druids of Gaul, “ were the only depositaries of knowledge : the “ only lawyers, physicians, astronomers, historians, “ notaries ; the only persons acquainted with the “ Belles-Lettres ; the only persons who could “ instruct youth ;—except among them, profound “ ignorance reigned every where. The monks “ softened, by their instructions, the ferocious man- “ ners of the people ; and opposed their credit to “ the despotism of the nobility, who knew no other “ occupation than war, and grievously oppressed “ their subjects and inferiors. On this account, “ the government of the monks was preferred to “ theirs. The people sought them for judges : it “ was an usual saying, that it was better to be “ governed by a bishop’s crosier, than a monarch’s “ sceptre. The monks were engaged in useful “ employments ; they cleared and cultivated desert “ and savage lands. We find that, in many places, “ where those missionaries established themselves, “ agriculture, next to preaching, was their principal

“ occupation. Where St. Gal built his church, he
“ planted a garden, and reared a flock of sheep :
“ he recommended to his disciples to support them-
“ selves by the labour of their hands. Was it
“ possible that such men should not be venerated,
“ both during their lives and after their deaths?
“ Can, then, history reckon up such a supera-
“ bundance of men, who have devoted themselves
“ to the welfare of their neighbours ? At a later
“ period, the monks were corrupted by riches and
“ power : this is the common fate of men : but, at
“ the time of which we are now speaking, they had
“ never been other than respectable. The monas-
“ tery of St. Gal had also a school, which by
“ degrees became famous ; both laymen and per-
“ sons, who devoted themselves to the church,
“ flocked to it in crowds ; there, they copied ;
“ there, several precious works of ancient writers
“ were discovered, which must have perished in the
“ general confusion of barbarous ages, without
“ these asylums, where religion still threw out some
“ light. When we consider the profound ignorance
“ of the nations who invaded the Roman empire,
“ and established themselves on its ruin, their
“ exclusive passion for war, their contempt for
“ the sciences, the arts, and even for writing, one
“ perceives that every thing then concurred to
“ produce in Europe the barbarism which had
“ reigned so long among the Celts, Scandinavians
“ and Sarmatians. What was it, which, in this

“ æra of the Roman empire preserved the human
“ mind from being plunged into the darkness of
“ the greatest barbarism, and from losing the last
“ remains of Greek and Roman lore? For this
“ blessing, mankind is indebted to the Christian
“ religion. Nothing less than the power of re-
“ ligion could subdue those barbarous prejudices,
“ which carried the contempt of the sciences, even
“ to writing. It was necessary that there should
“ be a sacred book, which made the knowledge of
“ writing indispensable :—a particular class, an
“ order of informed men, bound to study and teach
“ its contents.” It should be added, that in every
age and country, the Benedictine monks have ren-
dered the greatest services to religion. Few nations
can read the history of the first introduction of
Christianity among them, without being sensible
of their obligations to the Benedictine monks ;
their services to literature have been equally great ;
the shelves of libraries, to use Mr. Gibbon’s strong
expression, groan under the weight of Benedictine
folios.

“ The world,” says a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, for the month of December 1811, “ has
“ never been so deeply indebted to any other body
“ of men, as to this illustrious order ; but historians,
“ when relating the evil of which they were the
“ occasion, have too frequently forgotten the good
“ which they produced. Even the commonest readers
“ are familiar with the history of that archmiracle-

“ monger St. Dunstan ; while the most learned of
“ our countrymen scarcely remember the names
“ of those admirable men, who went forth from
“ England, and became the apostles of the north.
“ Tinian and Juan Fernandez, are not more beau-
“ tiful spots on the ocean, than Malmsbury and Lin-
“ disfarne, and Jarrow, in the ages of our heptarchy :
“ a community of pious men, devoted to literature
“ and to the useful arts, as well as to religion,
“ seems, in those ages, like a green oasis amid the
“ desert ; like stars in a moonless night, they shine
“ upon us with a tranquil ray. If ever there was
“ a man who could truly be called venerable, it is he,
“ to whom that appellation is constantly prefixed,
“ Bede, whose life was passed in instructing his own
“ generation, and preparing records for posterity.
“ In those days, the church offered the only asylum
“ from the evils to which every country was ex-
“ posed ; amidst continual wars the church enjoyed
“ peace ; it was regarded as a sacred realm, by men,
“ who, though they hated each other, believed and
“ feared the same God. Abused, as it was, by the
“ worldly-minded and ambitious, and disgraced by
“ the artifices of the designing and the follies of
“ the fanatic, it afforded a shelter to those, who
“ were better than the world in their youth, or
“ weary of it in their age ; the wise, as well as the
“ timid and the gentle, fled to this **Goshen of God**,
“ which enjoyed its own light and calm amid
“ darkness and storms.”

III. 2. In consequence of the general devastation and confusion occasioned in Italy, by the Lombards, in Spain, by the Saracens, in France, by the civil wars among the descendants of Charlemagne, and in England, by the irruption of the Danes,—the Benedictine monks fell, from their original fervour, into great disorder. St. Odo restored it, with some modification, in his monastery at Cluni: and several monasteries adopted his reform. They were called the congregation of Cluni; but, by degrees, the congregation of Cluni itself wanted reform; and the general decline of virtue and piety in the Benedictine order was so great, that, in the beginning of the eleventh century, it was difficult to find a single monastery, where even a faint likeness to the state, in which the order had been left by its original founder, was discoverable. But, towards the middle of the eleventh century, several eminent men arose in the Benedictine order, who endeavoured to restore it to its ancient purity; and while each of them added some new statute or custom to the original rule, each of them became the founder of a *congregation* or *secondary order*, adhering, in essentials, to the order of St. Benedict, but differing from it, in some particular observances. Such are the Carthusians, the Camadules, the Celestines, the monks of Grandmont, the congregation of St. Maur, and the order of Citeaux, and, a filiation from these, the monks of la Trappe.

“ I believe,” says the protestant authoress of the

elegant *Tour to Alèt and the Grande Chartreuse*, “ that very few, even among protestants, have “ visited la Trappe, without being struck with the “ heavenly countenances of these recluses, with the “ truly angelic discourse, which flows from their “ lips as from a fountain of living water. It is “ impossible to describe the gravity, benignity, “ peace and love, visible in most of their aspects, or “ the humility, yet self-possessed politeness and “ attention in their manner. When they are asked, “ why they choose this seclusion, their answer is “ uniform: to glorify God, to repent of our sins, “ and to pray for the unhappy world, which prays “ not for itself.”

III. 3. St. Benedict admitted both the learned and the unlearned into his order. The first, recited the divine office, in the choir; the second, discharged several duties, which regarded the household œconomy, and the other temporal concerns of the monastery. At this time, the regular recitation of the divine office was only a practice of monastic discipline; at a subsequent period it was made the general duty of all priests, deacons, and subdeacons; and became of course, the duty of all the religious, who had entered into any of those orders. As it was performed in the choir, it became a general practice in the Benedictine order to admit none into it, who were not sufficiently instructed to recite the office in the choir; but it was not required that

they should be priests, or even be in holy orders. All St. Bernard's brothers were professed religious, but none of them was in orders.—Afterwards, the Benedictines judged it advisable to admit into their order, many who, from ignorance, or some other circumstance, were incapable of the duty of the choir, and to employ them in the menial duties or other laborious employments of the house. This introduced *lay-brothers* into the Benedictine order. At first, they were rather attached to the general body of the order, than a portion of it ; but, in time, they were acknowledged, both by the church and the order, to be a portion of the order, and, in the strictest sense of the word, to be professed religious.—In its admission of lay-brothers, the Benedictine order has been followed by all other religious orders, both men and women. In 1322, the council of Vienne ordered all monks to enter into the order of priesthood, and to be instructed for it accordingly.—The monks of Vallombrosa in Tuscany are the first among whom lay-brothers are found with that name.

Few of our readers will have patience to peruse the *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* of Mabillon, in six volumes, in quarto, or his *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, in nine volumes, in folio : they will find the substance of them in Bulteau's *Abrégé de l' histoire de Saint Benoit*, two volumes, quarto, 1664.

IV.

The CANONS-REGULAR of St. AUGUSTIN derive their origin from certain respectable ecclesiastics, who, in the 8th century, formed themselves into a kind of middle order, between the monks and the secular clergy. They adopted so much of the monastic discipline, as to have their dwellings and table in common, and to assemble, at stated hours, for the divine service ; but they made no vows ; and often discharged the functions of the holy ministry in churches committed to their care. Thus they rendered essential service to religion.— By degrees they degenerated ; but, in the 12th century, a considerable reformation was introduced among them, under the auspices of pope Nicholas the second. Some of the members, among whom it was introduced, formed themselves into communities, which had a common dwelling and common table ; but each individual, after contributing to the general stock, employed the fruits and revenues of his benefices, as he thought expedient. Others, in consequence of the zealous exhortations of Ivo, bishop of Chartres, subjected themselves to an austere mode of life ; they renounced their worldly possessions, all private property, and lived in a manner resembling the austerity and discipline of a monastic life. This gave rise to the distinction between the *secular* and the *regular* canons.— The former observed the decree of Nicholas the

second ; the latter conformed to the directions of Ivo ; and being formed on the rules and suggestions laid down by St. Augustin, in his epistles, the observers of them became generally called the *Regular Canons of St. Augustin*. They kept public schools for the instruction of youth, and exercised a variety of functions, which rendered them extremely useful to the church. A spirit of relaxation having found its way into the order, St. Norbert attempted to restore it to its primitive severity. He first introduced his reform into his convent at Prémontré in Picardy ; it spread throughout Europe with great rapidity ; and, from the convent in which it was first established, the communities which embraced it were called the *Premonstratenses*.

An account of the canons regular of St. Augustin, and of the Premonstratenses, is given in a work, intitled *Joan. le Paige, Bibliotheca Ordinis Premonstratensis, præsertim vero Sancti Augustini regulam profitentibus, utilis maximeque necessaria. Par. 1633, in folio.*

It remains to add, that *convents of nuns* were founded, the institutes of which corresponded with those of the religious orders and congregations which we have noticed, and with some of their principal reforms.

V.

FOR many centuries, the Benedictines, and the congregations which emanated from them; and the

canons of St. Augustin, constituted the only monastic orders of the West: but, in the 13th century, the MENDICANT ORDERS arose: these were the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and the Hermits of St. Augustin.

V. 1. *The Franciscans* were founded about the year 1213, by St. Francis, the son of a merchant of Assissium in the province of Umbria. He had little human learning, but, in the science of the saints, he had few equals. From humility, he called the brethren of his order, friars-minors, or the little brethren, and composed a rule for them, which the pope approved. They chiefly exerted themselves in the laborious parts of the sacred ministry. In hospitals, in prisons, among the lowest orders of the poor, in every place, where labour or danger attended the exercise of the functions of the ministry, or where there was a total absence of remuneration, the Franciscan friars were sure to be found. But it was not only in the lower walks of the ministry, that they laboured; many of them were eminent for their learning; many have filled the highest dignities of the church, and some have worn the tiara.

There are three orders of St. Francis. The first of them, soon after the decease of St. Francis, divaricated into the *Conventual Friars*, who admitted some mitigations into their practice of the rule, and the *Observantine Friars*, who derived their name from their stricter observance of it. In

France, they were called *cordeliers*, from a cord, with which they girded their habit. Reforms have sometimes been introduced among the observantines ; the principal of the reformed congregations are, the *Recollects*, or Gray Friars, who received their name from the Spanish word Ricogidios, which signifies reformed : and the *Capucines*, who received their appellation from a patch worn by them on the back of their habits.

The second order of St. Francis is that of the poor Clares, and is remarkable for its extreme severity.

The third order of St. Francis was instituted by him for persons of both sexes, living in the world, but united by certain rules and exercises, compatible with a secular life ; and not binding under sin, but serving as rules for their direction. This institute was imitated by the Dominicans and Carmelites. There were some monasteries, particularly in Flanders, of nuns, who were called of the third order of St. Francis : they vowed inclosure, and had a mitigated rule.

The annals of the order of St. Francis are written in 17 volumes in folio, intitled *Lucæ Waddingi, Annales Minorum, seu Historia Trium Ordinum a Sancto Francisco institutorum, Editio secunda, studio Josephi Mariæ Fonseca. Romæ 1731, &c.* Wadding was an Irishman : *father Harold*, also an Irishman, published a good abridgment of this work, and a continuation of it, in two volumes.

V. 2. St. Dominic, from whom the *Dominicans* derive their name, originally adopted, for the government of his disciples, the rule of the canons regular of St. Augustin. Afterwards, he substituted for it the rule of St. Benedict; but with so many alterations, as almost made it a new rule. Public instruction was its great object: on this account the disciples of St. Dominic were, at first, called preaching friars.

The history of the order of St. Dominic is elegantly written by father *Touron*, a monk of that order, in six volumes, quarto. A complete edition of the *Hibernia Dominicana of Thomas de Burgo* Col. Agr. 1762, is one of the greatest typographical curiosities. The supplement is not easily found, and, in the work itself, the pages, from 136 to 147, are wanting in almost every edition.

V. 3. Some writers have endeavoured to derive the origin of the *Carmelites* from Elias. They allege, that, after the decease of that prophet, an uninterrupted succession of hermits inhabited Mount Carmel, down to the time of Christ and his apostles; and that, having embraced, in the earliest years of christianity, the christan religion, they continued their succession to the twelfth or thirteenth century, when the rule of the Carmelites, as it is now observed, was communicated to St. Simon Stock, their general, by divine revelation. At that time they were established at Palestine: Alberic, their fifth general in succession from

St. Simon Stock, removed from Palestine ; and houses of the order were established in many parts of Europe. A reform was introduced into the order by the exertions of St. Theresa. Those, who embraced the reform, were, from their not wearing shoes, called the discalced, or unshodden Carmelites, in opposition to those who continued calceated, or shodden.

The history of the Carmelites is written in the *Speculum Carmelitarum*, published at Antwerp, in four volumes, in folio, in 1680.

V. 4. *The Hermits of St. Austin*, derive their institute from a bull of pope Alexander the fourth, which collected into one order, under that name, several orders of hermits, and prescribed a rule for their government.

V. 5. The four orders, which we have mentioned, are the only orders which the church has acknowledged to be *Mendicant*. An order is considered to be mendicant, in the proper import of that word, when it has no fixed income, and derives its whole subsistence from casual and uncertain bounty, obtained by personal mendicity. To that, St. Francis did not wish his brethren to have recourse, till they had endeavoured to earn a competent subsistence by labour ; and found their earnings insufficient. “ With my own hands,” he says in his testament, “ I laboured and wished to labour ; and I earnestly wish all my brethren to labour incessantly, for a decent livelihood. Let those who have not learned

any laborious employment learn one ; not from an improper desire of the profit of labour, but, as a good example, and to keep off idleness : and, when we do not receive the wages of our labour, let us then approach the table of the Lord, and beg from door to door.” But, soon after the decease of St. Francis, the exertions, equally incessant and laborious, of his disciples, for the spiritual welfare of the faithful, appeared, in the universal opinion of the church, to be both incompatible with manual labour, and much more than a compensation to the public, for all they could possibly obtain from it, by mendicity. This opinion was unequivocally expressed by St. Thomas of Aquin, and sanctioned by a bull of pope Nicholas the third. From that time, the friars did not use manual labour as a means of subsistence, but resorted, in the first instance, to mendicity. In this sense, it was an article of the rule of St. Francis.

It made no part of the original rule of St. Dominic, or of the original rules of the Carmelites, or the hermits of St. Augustin. Insensibly, however, all of them ingrafted it, by particular constitutions, on their respective rules ; and thus, the four orders which we have mentioned became the four mendicant orders ; but St. Francis was the only founder of a religious order, of whose original rule mendicity was an article.

Experience soon discovered, that many spiritual and many temporal evils attended mendicity. In

consequence of them, some of the Franciscan establishments, and almost all the establishments of the three other orders, began to acquire permanent property. This, the church first permitted, and afterwards countenanced; and the council of Trent confined mendicity to the Observantines and Capucins.

VI.

IN 1534, St. Ignatius of Loyola laid the foundation of the SOCIETY OF JESUS, by the vow, which, with his ten companions, he took in the chapel of Montmartre near Paris. In 1540, and 1543, his institute was approved by pope Paul the third. In the history of the life of St. Ignatius, written by father Bouhours, one of the most elegant works in the French language, the reader will find a succinct account of the constitutions of this celebrated society. Some account of them is also given by the present writer, in his Historical and Biographical Memoirs of the Church of France, during the reigns of Lewis the fourteenth and Lewis the fifteenth.

A complete series of the historians of the Society of Jesus may be seen in *De Bure*, in his *Bibliographie Instructive, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, section IV. 4. 55. Those, who read the *Provincial Letters of Pascal*, should also read father Daniel's *Reponse aux Lettres Provinciales*, and his *Letters au Père Alexandre*. "No author," says Doctor Maclaine, in a note (u) to his *translation of Mosheim's*

Ecclesiastical History, cent. xvi. part 1, c. 35, "has given a more accurate, precise, and clear enumeration of the objections, that have been made to the moral doctrine of the Jesuits, and the reproaches that have been cast on their rules of life; and none, at the same time, has defended their cause with more art and dexterity, than the eloquent and ingenious Gabriel Daniel, (a famous member of their order), in a piece intitled, *Entretiens de Cléandre et d'Eudoxe.*" His *Lettres au Père Alexandre*, are written with still greater point and elegance. Those, who read more recent publications against them, should also read *L'Apologie de l'Institut des Jesuites*, and Mr. Dallas's *New Conspiracy against the Jesuits detected, and briefly exposed*, an elegant and able work.

VII.

The reign of Louis the fourteenth was illustrated by several religious communities, which, during that period, were either founded or first established in France. Without being bound by religious vows, the members lived in community, in the observance of certain settled rules, and thus far, had a resemblance to religious orders. Such were *the Oratorians, the Lazarists, and the Sulpiciens.*

The Oratorians were particularly given to the study of theology and sacred literature, and, possessing Mallebranche, Lami, Simon, Le Brun, and

other able writers, attracted, in a high degree, the notice of the public. The Lazarists and Sulpiciens courted obscurity. The character given by M. de Bausset of the Sulpiciens, in his life of Fenelon, may be applied equally to them and the Lazarists. In perusing it, the reader will probably be put in mind of the beautiful lines, in which the poet, in his *Temple of Fame*, (verse 356—366), describes the smallest tribe he yet had seen. “*Avoiding public notice,*” says M. de Bausset, “*engaging in no contest, resigning to others those good works which confer celebrity, it was their object to be actively employed in the service of the church, in the most obscure and most humble functions: and, within that modest, but useful line of duty, their exertions were uniformly confined.*” They had numerous establishments in France, and existed 150 years, without the slightest abatement of their first fervor, when at the beginning of the French revolution, they perished in the general wreck of what was most respectable and holy in France.”

VIII.

VIII. 1. It remains to give some account of the **MILITARY ORDERS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.** Some time before the first crusade, an hospital was established at Jerusalem, for the relief of the poor pilgrims who resorted there. In 1100, Gerard, the director of it, and his companions, professed themselves members of the order of St. Benedict, and

formed a congregation, under the name of St. John the Baptist. It was approved by pope Pascal the second. In 1113, Raymond du Puy, the successor of Gerard, divided the order into three classes; to the nobles, he assigned the profession of arms, for the defence of the faith, and the protection of pilgrims; the ecclesiastics, were to exercise the religious functions, for the benefit of the order; the lay-brothers were to take care of the pilgrims and sick. These regulations were approved by pope Calixtus the second; and the order then took the name of Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. After the loss of the Holy Land they retired to Cyprus; thence, to Rhodes: in 1522, that island was taken from them, by Solyman the great: Malta was then given them by the emperor Charles the fifth; from that time they have generally been known by the appellation of *Knights of Malta*.

VIII. 2. The order of the *Knights Templars* was established nearly about the same time, and for the same purposes as that of the knights of Malta. They took their name from a monastery given them by Baldwin, the second king of Jerusalem, which immediately joined the temple in his palace. They were suppressed by the council of Vienne in 1312.

VIII. 3. The *Teutonic Order* was founded on the model of that of the Knights Templars. It was confirmed by pope Celestine, in 1191. The knights conquered Prussia in 1230, and fixed the

head seat of their order at Marienburg. In 1525, the grand master embraced the protestant religion ; since which time, the head seat of the order has been at Margentheim, in Franconia.

VIII. 4. The original object of the *Order of St. Lazarus*, was to take care of persons infected with leprosy ; in the course of time it became a military order. The whole body returned with St. Lewis into Europe, in 1254. Afterwards, it was united in France, with the order of our Lady of Mount Carmel, and in Savoy, with the order of St. Maurice.—All these orders displayed heroic acts of valour in the enterprises of the crusaders, to recover the Holy Land.

For the history of the military orders of the church of Rome, the reader may consult, *Histoire des Ordres Militaires seculiers et reguliers de l'un et de l'autre sexe, tirées des differens auteurs, et principalement de l'Abbé Giustiniani, avec des figures gravées en taille douce, qui representent leurs habilemens.* Ams. 1721, 4 vols. in 8vo.

ESSAY II.

On the Discipline of the CHURCH of ROME, respecting the general PERUSAL of the SCRIPTURES in the vulgar tongue, by the Laity.

THIS essay comprises, with some additions, the whole of a first, and extracts from a second and third letter, addressed to Thomas Stonor, Esq. and published in the Gentleman's Magazine for the month of December, 1813, and the months of February and September in the following year. Several replies to them appeared in different numbers of the same valuable repository. To those, the writer, being perfectly satisfied with the ground, on which they left the question, made no replication.

As they are now offered to the reader, the substance of these letters may be found to contain some account :

I. Of the ancient discipline of the church of Rome, respecting the general perusal of the scriptures by the laity. II. Some account of the change made in the ancient discipline, in consequence of the troubles occasioned by the Waldenses and Albigenses. III. Some account of the actual state of the discipline of the church of Rome in

this respect. IV. A short statement of the sentiments of some respectable protestant writers on the unrestricted perusal of the scriptures. V. Some observations on the notion, entertained by several protestants, of its being considered by the roman-catholics to be unlawful to print a translation of the scriptures, in a vulgar tongue without notes. VI. Some facts, which show the earnest wish of the church of Rome to promote the circulation of the scriptures, both in the original languages and in translations. VII. Some facts, which show the groundlessness of the charge brought against the church of Rome, that she did not allow translations of the Bible, into vulgar tongues, to be printed, till she was forced to it, against her will, by the protestant translations. VIII. Some account of the English roman-catholic versions of the Bible. IX. Some observations on the harsh expressions, charged on the notes to the Rhemish version of the Bible, and the edition of it by Doctor Challoner. X. A suggestion of the rules which should be constantly observed in polemic controversy. XI. And of a rule, particularly to be observed in controversies with roman-catholics.—These observations having been drawn up originally in the nature of a letter, it is hoped that the frequent introduction in them of the pronoun of the first person will be excused.

I.

The early discipline of the church of Rome in

respect to the perusal of the scripture, by the general body of the laity, has varied. On this head, I cannot do better than extract the following passages from a letter of Fenelon to the bishop of Arras, (Oeuvres Spirituels de Fenelon, 8vo. tom. 4, p. 241); a translation of which, by the rev. Edw. Peach, the pastor of the roman-catholic chapel at Birmingham, printed for Andrews, Orange-street, Red-Lion-square, has recently appeared. "I think," says the illustrious prelate, "that much trouble has been taken in our times very unnecessarily, to prove what is incontestable, that, in the first ages of the church the laity read the holy scriptures. It is clear as day-light, that all people read the Bible and liturgy in their native languages: that, as a part of good education, children were made to read them; that, in their sermons, the ministers of the church regularly explained to their flocks, whole books of the sacred volumes; that the sacred text of the scriptures was very familiar to the people; that the clergy exhorted the people to read them; that the clergy blamed the people for not reading them; and considered the neglect of the perusal of them as a source of heresy and immorality. But, in all this," continues the illustrious prelate, "the church used a wise œconomy; adapting the general practice to the circumstances and wants of individuals. It did not, however, think that a person could not be a christian, or not be well instructed in his religion, without perusing

the sacred writings. Whole countries of barbarians, innumerable multitudes of the faithful were rich, (to use the words of St. Paul), in words and science, though they had not read the sacred writings. To listen to the pastors of the church, who explain the scriptures to the faithful, and distribute among them such parts as are suited to their wants, is to read the scriptures."

Thus far I have translated literally the words of Fenelon. In confirmation of what is said by him, that a considerable proportion of the faithful derived their knowledge of the gospel, not from a perusal of the scriptures themselves, but from the explanation of them by their pastors, I beg leave to refer you to what my most learned friend, the lord bishop of Landaff, in his "*Illustrations of his Hypothesis on the Origin and Composition of the three first Canonical Gospels*," has observed on the very small number of manuscript copies of the gospels, which were possessed by the early christians.

II.

FENELON then proceeds to notice *the change of the discipline of the church, in the point I have mentioned, in consequence of the troubles occasioned by the Waldenses and Albigenses*.—"It should seem," he says, "that the Waldenses and Albigenses obliged the church to have recourse to her strict authority, in refusing the perusal of the

sacred scripture to all persons, who were not disposed to read it to their advantage. I do not, however, undertake to assert that this prohibition was then issued by the church for the first time. But, certainly, the indocility and spirit of revolt, which then appeared among the laity, the neglect of the pastors to explain the scriptures, and the contempt which the people began then to show for their instructions, made it manifest, that it had become unsafe to permit the people at large to read the sacred text ; and consequently made it necessary for the church to withhold from the laity the perusal of it without the permission of their pastors.”

The venerable prelate next proceeds to state the principal councils, synods, and episcopal ordinances, by which the general perusal of the scriptures by the laity was restricted. In a further part of his letter, he enumerates several passages, both of the Old and New Testament, which are likely to be understood in a wrong sense by the ignorant or ill-disposed, and to be wrested by them, as he terms it after St. Paul, to their own perdition. “ Hence,” Fenelon concludes, that “ the church acted wisely in withholding the sacred text from the rash criticisms of the vulgar.” He says, that, “ before the people read the gospel, they should be instructed respecting it ; that they should be prepared for it by degrees, so that, when they come to read it, they should be qualified to understand it ; and thus be full of its spirit, before they are intrusted with its

letter. The perusal of it should only be permitted to the simple, the docile, and the humble ; to those who wish to nourish themselves with its divine truths in silence. It should never be committed to those, who merely seek to satisfy their curiosity, to dispute, to dogmatize, or to criticise. In a word, it should be given to those only, who, receiving it from the hands of the church, seek for nothing in it but the sense of the church.” This is, and ever has been, the doctrine of the church. “ Her discipline in this article,” says Fenelon in another part of his letter, “ has sometimes varied, her doctrine has ever been the same.”

III.

I shall proceed to state *the actual dispositions of the church of Rome on this important point of her discipline.*

For this purpose, I beg leave to copy what Mr. Alban Butler says, in his sixth letter on Mr. Archibald Bower’s History of the Popes: “ The people,” (these are his words), “ daily hear the scriptures read and expounded to them, by their pastors, and in good books. Even children have excellent abridgments of the sacred history, adapted in the most easy and familiar manner, to their capacity, put into their hands. The divine books themselves are open to all, who understand Latin, or any other of the learned languages, in every catholic country ; and every one may read them,

in the vulgar languages, if he first ask the advice of his confessor, who will only instruct him in what spirit he is to read them."

IV.

From what I have said, it seems evident, that the limitation, with which the roman-catholic church allows the general body of the laity to peruse the scriptures in a vulgar tongue, has not a very extensive operation; and I must observe, that *some eminent protestants so far agree with the roman-catholic church, on this head, as to think that the indiscriminate perusal of the scripture by the laity is attended with bad consequences, and should therefore have some limitation.*

1. For proof of this, I particularly refer you to the treatise of Dr. Hare, a late bishop of Chichester, "On the difficulties and discouragements which attend the study of the scriptures in the way of private judgment, in order to show, that since such a study of the scriptures is men's indispensable duty, it concerns all christian societies to remove, (as much as possible), those discouragements."

2. In respect to the protestant practice of putting the scriptures into the hands of children, in their tender years, Mr. Benjamin Martin, in his preface to his "Introduction to the English Tongue," laments and censures the "putting of the sacred book into the hands of every bawling school-mistress, and of thoughtless children, to be torn,

trampled upon, and made the early object of their aversion, by being their most tedious task and their punishment." He seems inclined to ascribe the growth of irreligion and the contempt of holy things to this source.

3. Mr. Edmund Burke thus expresses himself, in his "Speech on the Act of Uniformity":— "The Scripture," he says, "is no one summary of christian doctrine regularly digested, in which a man could not mistake his way; it is a most venerable, but most multifarious collection of the records of the divine œconomy; a collection of an infinite variety of cosmogony, theology, history, prophecy, psalmody, morality, apologue, allegory, legislation, ethics, carried through different books, by different authors, at different ages, for different ends and purposes."

"It is necessary to sort out, what is intended for example; what only as a narrative; what to be understood literally; what figuratively; where one precept is to be controlled or modified by another; what is used directly, and what only as an argument *ad hominem*; what is temporary, and what of perpetual obligation; what appropriated to one state, and to one set of men, and what the general duty of all christians. If we do not get some security for this, we not only permit, but we actually pay for, all the dangerous fanaticism, which can be produced to corrupt our people, and to derange the public worship of the country. We owe the best

we can, (not infallibility, but prudence), to the subjects; first, sound doctrine, then, ability to use it." *Speech on the Act of Uniformity: Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, vol. v. p. 335.*

4. I request the reader's attention, in the next place, to that numerous portion of the protestant subscribers to the Bible Societies, which contends, that the Bibles distributed should be accompanied with the Common-Prayer book, "*as a safeguard,*" to use the expression of the bishop of Landaff, (whose learning justly places him at the head of these gentlemen), "*against the misinterpretation of the Bible.*" Surely the protestant, who, by a general adoption of safeguards against the misinterpretation of the Scriptures, must admit such misinterpretation to be probable, cannot quarrel with the roman-catholic for his cautionary preventives of it.

V.

This leads me to mention a strange opinion, which prevails much among protestants—that *it is contrary to the general principles of the catholic religion, to publish the Bible, in a vulgar tongue, without notes.*

To be convinced of the erroneousness of this opinion, it is only necessary to walk into the shops of the French booksellers in London, where several French roman-catholic versions of the New Testament, without any notes, are constantly on

sale. I beg leave, however, to refer the reader to the edition of le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, published by Boehmer at Leipsic, in two volumes octavo, 1709. In the second volume of the work, c. v. sect. 2. p. 36, he will find an article, with the title, “*Biblia Gallica a Catholicis edita*,” and will see by it, that, before that work was printed, there had been, in the French language, nine original versions of the whole Bible; that many editions of these versions are in octavo, or the lesser sizes; that there had been twelve original versions of the New Testament; that there had been several editions of most of these versions; that almost all these editions are in octavo or a smaller size; and that there had not been fewer than two hundred editions of different parts of the Old and New Testament, particularly the four gospels and the psalms, from one or other of these versions. Which of these editions are or are not accompanied by notes, I cannot say; but, from their size, it is most evident, that by far the greater part of them have none. I must add, that all these editions were anterior to the year 1709. Now, reading of no kind was, before that year, so common as it has since been. There is consequently no reason to suppose, that the versions subsequent to that period have been proportionally fewer than those which preceded it. An equal number of versions and editions had not, before that time, been printed in England.

I must add, that *no Syriac, no Armenian, no Æthiopic, no Arabic version of the Bible, has any notes*; yet those are the vulgar tongues of large portions of the world.

I beg, however, not to be misunderstood:—while I mention the multitude of roman-catholic Bibles, and versions of Bibles, without notes, I admit, most unequivocally, that it is the acknowledged right of our church and her pastors, to direct, when, where, and what notes should accompany them. But I must think, that the various instances, in which I show, that they have been published without notes, prove incontrovertibly, how unjustly we are charged with admitting it, as a principle of our religion, that the versions of the Bible into a vulgar tongue should not be published without them.

VI.

I shall now cite a few miscellaneous facts, to show how much the church of Rome has, at all times, desired to promote the general circulation and perusal of the sacred writings, both in the original language, and in translations from it.

1. To begin with the practice of the church in the middle ages—I refer you to the second part of Dr. Hody's “*Historia Scholastica Textus Versionumque Græcæ et Vulgatæ.*” It is impossible to peruse it, without acknowledging it to prove, beyond controversy, that there never was a time, even in the darkest ages, when the study of the

scriptures, and that too in their original languages, was not cultivated and encouraged by the roman-catholic clergy. In our own country, the works of the venerable Bede, of holy Robert of Lincoln, and of Roger Bacon, show, how much biblical learning was cultivated and encouraged in those days.

2. Every candid scholar must surely own it to be principally owing to *the labours of the monks of the middle ages*, that we are now in possession of the sacred writings. This will appear clear to every one, who peruses the 10th chapter of *Mr. Lingard's invaluable Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon church*, and the 4th chapter of the 3d book of *Dr. Henry's History of Britain*. *Gerhardus Tyschen*, professor of philosophy and oriental literature, in the united universities of Butzow and Rostock, in his “*Tentamen de variis Codicis Hebræorum Veteris Testamenti MSS. Rostochii 1772*,” expresses himself in terms of astonishment at the labours of the monks in the transcription of the sacred writings, and the singular felicity of their execution. “I am sensible,” he says, “that it is the general opinion, that the study of the fine arts was buried during the middle ages. It is however certain, that, while literature was crushed every where else, she found a refuge in monasteries.” He particularly mentions, how much the inhabitants of those pious abodes studied the Hebrew language: and how many of them were employed in transcribing Hebrew

manuscripts. He says, that calligraphy arrived, in them, at its summit of excellence: the beauty of their transcriptions, he remarks, is such, as could not have been attained unless they possessed some art of fixing the forms of written letters, to which we are strangers.

3. The typographic art was no sooner discovered than the *catholic presses* were employed in printing in every size, from the folio to the twenty-fourth, the Old and New Testament, or particular parts of them, in the Hebrew and Greek originals, and the Latin translations.

4. Every roman-catholic acknowledges, with readiness, the transcendent merit of the London *Polyglott*; and every candid protestant should admit, with equal readiness, that the London polyglott was preceded by the catholic polyglotts of Complutum, Antwerp, and Paris; and that, without them, the London polyglott would not have existed. The roman-catholics justly applaud the invaluable labours of Dr. Kennicott: the protestants should equally applaud, what Dr. Kennicott always took a pleasure in mentioning, that the catholics employed themselves as actively and as disinterestedly, in his service, as his protestant auxiliaries. And I think you will permit my mentioning, in this place, that the Doctor always spoke, in particular terms of respect and gratitude, of the exertions of Mr. Alban Butler, the author of the *Lives of the Saints*.—A new and elegant

edition of the work, with beautiful engravings, has lately, by the exertions of Mr. Murphy, of Howland Street, made its appearance, and contains numerous relations, which prove the great biblical exertions of the secular and regular clergy, during the middle ages. When it is observed that, in those days, the Bible was not in the hands of every poor person, as it is in these happy times, it should not be forgotten, that, in those days an hundred pounds of our money would not purchase a single transcription of it.

5. Many examples show, that, when any nation has been converted or recalled to the catholic religion, the church of Rome has been careful to supply it with a translation of the scriptures, in its vernacular language. The numberless translations of the whole scriptures, or of different parts of them, into *the Latin*, which was once the language of the whole Western empire, are well known. So early as the fourth century, St. Augustin observed, that “the number of those, who had translated the scriptures from the Hebrew, into the Greek, might be computed; but that the number of those, who had translated the Greek into the Latin, could not: for that, immediately on the introduction of christianity, if a person got possession of a Greek manuscript, and thought he had any knowledge of the two languages, he set about translating the scriptures.”

6. **The Peshito, or Sincere Version of the Four**

Gospels into *Syriac*, was certainly made before the fourth, and there are circumstances which render it probable, that it was made at the end of the first, or the beginning of the second century. In 1552, the Maronite christians having, under the direction of Ignatius their patriarch, sent Moses of Marden to pope Julius the third, to acknowledge the supremacy of the See of Rome, and to be received into his communion, the emperor Ferdinand caused a new edition of this version to be printed at his own expense, at Vienna, and transmitted to Syria.

7. In 1548, there appearing to be an opening for the introduction of christianity into *Æthiopia*, pope Paul the third, caused an *Æthiopic* version of the New Testament to be published at Rome for the use of the new *Æthiopic* christians.

8. An *Arabic* version of the whole Bible was published at Rome in 1591; and in 1671, the congregation at Rome de propagandâ fide, published, for the use of the Arabic christians in communion with her, an Arabic version of the whole Bible, in three volumes folio, under the direction of Sergius Risius, bishop of Damascus. We are informed by *Abbas Nazarias*, in his *Diarium Eruditum*, that it was the labour of forty-six years. With the same beneficent view, an Arabic version of the four gospels was printed in 1591, at the Medicæan press, at Rome.

9. The extreme difficulty of acquiring even a slight knowledge of the *Chinese* language, the small

number of those who can but imperfectly read it, and the immense expense attending the printing of the smallest work in it, prevented the catholic missionaries from publishing any version of the Scriptures in that language. It was, however, their wish to do it, when such a version should be generally useful, and when the means of printing and publishing it should be in their power. With this view, the Jesuits prepared a harmony of the four gospels in the Chinese language. It is preserved in the British Musæum. The British and Foreign Bible Society mentions this circumstance in the first report of their proceedings, and commends the elegance of the version.

It is observable, that, at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, fifty thousand copies of a French translation of the New Testament were distributed among the converted protestants, by the order of Lewis the fourteenth.—I beg leave to add, that having lived long in France, and being intimately acquainted with the literary and devotional habits of that people, I am perfectly satisfied, that the Bible was as much read, as much explained, and as well understood by the people at large, in France, as it is in England. I will, however, admit, that it was not read at so early an age in France, as it is by English protestants. But, (*absit invidia verbo*), I will presume to say, that taking a protestant boy of the age of ten years, who has read the Bible, in the manner in which it is usually read before that age in England,

and a catholic boy of the same age, who has been taught the French catechism, and particularly Fleury's Historical Catechism, in the manner in which they are usually taught in France, I am quite confident that the latter will be found to have quite as full and as clear a knowledge of the history, the morality, and the religion of the Old and New Testament as the former.

VII.

I shall now notice a charge, often brought against the catholics,—that they were forced, against their will, to print versions, in vernacular languages, of the sacred Text, in consequence of the effects produced by the versions, made in those languages, by the protestants.

For this charge there is no foundation.

1. The earliest printed protestant version in the German language, is that of Martin Luther. The New Testament of that version was printed in 1522; the Old, in 1530.

It had been preceded, 1st, by Fust's celebrated Bible, printed at Mentz, in 1462; 2dly, by Bemler's, printed at Augsburgh, in 1467; and 3dly, by the four versions mentioned by Beausobre, (*Hist. de la Reformation, Liv. 4.*)

2. The earliest printed *French* protestant version, is that of Olivetan, assisted by Calvin.

It contains the whole Bible, and was finished in 1537,—the year 1535, (which is the date mentioned

in the title page), being the year, in which it was first committed to the press.

This version had been preceded, 1st, by the French version of the New Testament, by Julian, an Augustinian monk, printed in 1477; 2dly, by the French version of the whole Bible, by Guyards des Moulins, printed in 1490; and 3dly, by that of Estaples, the New Testament of whose version was printed in 1523, and the Old in 1528. The last of these editions was particularly used by Olivetan.

3. The earliest printed *Italian* protestant version appeared in 1562.

It had been preceded, 1st, by Malermis, printed in 1471; and 2dly, by Bruciolis, in 1532, which last version the protestant translator generally followed.

4. The first printed protestant *Belgic* version was made from Luther's, and appeared in 1527.

It had been preceded by a version of the four gospels, printed in 1472; and by one of the whole Bible, printed at Cologne, in 1475; at Delft, in 1477; at Gouda, in 1479; and both at Antwerp and Louvain, in 1518.

It is needless to extend these inquiries.

VIII.

I proceed to give some account of the *English catholic versions of the Bible*.

1. An English version of the New Testament was printed in 1582, in one volume quarto, by the

clergy of the English college, first established at Douay, but then removed to Rheims. Their translation of the Old Testament was published at Douay, (to which town the college had then returned), in two volumes quarto, in the year 1609 and 1610.

2. The *Rheimish* version of the New Testament, but with some variation, both in the text and notes, was reprinted at Douay in 1600. The version of the New Testament was often reprinted. In 1738, it was beautifully printed in London, in one volume folio, and, in the title page, is called the fifth edition.

3. An English roman-catholic translation of the New Testament, with a few (but very few,) notes, was published at Paris in 1719, in one volume octavo. The translator was Dr. Cornelius Nary; the approbation of Dr. John Farely, president of the Irish college at Paris, of Mr. Fogarty, Dr. of Sorbonne, of Mr. Moore, vicar-general of the roman-catholic archbishop in Dublin, and of Francis Walsh, a roman-catholic priest in Dublin, are prefixed to it. The translation is said to be respectably executed.

4. In 1730, an English translation of the New Testament, but, on the ground-work of the *Rheimish* and *Douay* version, was published at Douay, by *Dr. Witham*, the president of the English college in that town, with many concise and useful notes.

5. In 1749, 1750, a new edition, both of the Old and New Testament, with some alteration in the text, and much in the notes, was published from this version, by *Dr. Challoner*, in five volumes octavo. The New Testament of that edition has been often reprinted; but it is asserted, that the editions subsequent to that of 1749, are incorrect, and that the edition of 1749 is to be preferred to any of them.

It is much to be desired, that we had a good literary history of the English versions of the Bible by the roman-catholics, and of the controversies to which they have given rise. The account given of them by Mr. Lewis, in his “History of the Translations of the Holy Bible and New Testament into English,” is very imperfect, and written with an evident prejudice against the catholic religion.

6. Two editions of the catholic version of the whole Bible in folio, and one of Dr. Challoner’s version of the New Testament in octavo, have recently appeared. A stereotype edition also of the latter, in octavo, has lately been published, by the direction of the Roman-catholic Bible Society, under the care of the late Dr. Rigby, a learned and pious roman-catholic priest.

It is highly probable, that, with more time for the inquiry, and, (I should certainly add,) with more knowledge of the subject, many other instances of the zeal of the catholic church, to spread the sacred writings, might be collected. But surely those,

which I have mentioned, abundantly show, that in every age, it has always been her wish, that the sacred volumes should be circulated, in every country, into which the christian religion has penetrated ; and that the charge made against her of withholding the Bible from her flock, has, to say no more, been unmercifully exaggerated. The exaggeration has been carried so far, as to have made it nearly the universal belief of protestants, that withholding the Bible from the general body is *The Rule*, and the liberty to read it, *The Exception* ; whereas it is much nearer the truth to say, that the *withholding of it is The Exception, and the liberty, The Rule.*

IX.

An objection is made to some *harsh expressions, which occur in the notes to the Rheimish version, and in the notes to Dr. Challoner's edition of that version.*

1. With respect to the former, I am far from approving any expression of this nature, which is justly censurable ; but, when the harsh expressions of the Rheimish annotators are brought forward, —the dungeons too,—the racks, the gibbets, the fires, the confiscations, and the various other modes of persecution, in every hideous form, which the catholics of those days endured, should not be forgotten. That these should have produced some expressions of bitterness, from the writers in question,

cannot be a matter of surprise ; if something of the kind had not fallen from them they would have been more than men. But, permit me to ask, whether the language of their protestant adversaries were more courteous? To ascertain this, I wish my readers to turn to the first and last pages of Dr. Fulke's "Texts of the New Testament." In the first page of it, he tells the Rheimish translators, that, "they had perverted the Bible, by their partial translation, and poisoned it with their heretical and blasphemous annotations ;—that they craftily begged of their favourers in England larger exhibition, upon colour of printing their translation of the Bible." In the last page he tells them, that "the words of their prayer were good and godly ; but, that they proceeded not from a faithful heart, not only their wilful and obstinate maintaining of errors, against the most clear light of truth, with their intolerable licentiousness of lying and slandering the saints of God, did sufficiently declare."

—That, "though they could speak good words on hypocrisy, yet their heart knew, and their cauterized conscience could not but bear witness, that they dared not abide the tryal of God's judgment, howsoever, (as all wicked offenders did commonly) they appealed to it."—Are these passages exceeded by any contained in the Rheimish annotations? If they are not, permit me to ask, why the roman-catholics of the present day should be criminated for an alleged intemperance of some of the

Rheimish notes, and the protestants of the present day should not be alike liable to crimination, for the equal intemperance of the antagonists of the Rheimish annotators?"

2. With respect to *Dr. Challoner's notes*, some of them have been pronounced illiberal or uncharitable. I doubt whether any of them, if they were construed in the sense in which the venerable prelate himself understood them, would be found to merit either of these epithets. This, however, cannot be settled, without a minute discussion of each note ; but, if any passages, really exceptionable on either of these grounds, can be found in them, it must be allowed that these passages are not numerous :—And it must also be allowed, that, *even now*, roman-catholics are occasionally treated by their protestant opponents, with expressions of at least equal asperity. The first sentence of the preface to the work intitled, “ Roman-catholic Claims,” (a very recent publication), politely informs us, that, “ misrepresentation, evasion, and untruth, are the usual weapons of controversial popery.”

It is full time that this polemic rudeness should cease. The Roman-catholic Board, by their resolution of the 9th of February, 1813, declared, “ That they decidedly disapproved of every publication, either illiberal in language, or uncharitable in substance ; injurious to the character, or offensive to the just feelings of any of their christian brethren.”

That every denomination of christians should adopt and act up to this resolution must be the wish of all who possess real charity, or a real love of truth.

—It was a golden observation of St. Francis of Sales, that “ a good christian is never outdone in good manners.”

Better rules cannot be laid down for conducting controversy than those suggested by Doctor Hey, the late Norisian professor at Cambridge. From the first volume of his *Lectures* they are thus extracted, but with some additional observations, by the late Mr. Richard Kirwan, in his “ *Logic, or an Essay on the Elements, Principles, and different Modes of Reasoning, Part. IV. Ch. I. Sec. 3;* ” an original and very instructive work.

“ First,” says Doctor Hey, “ the terms, in which the subject in debate is conceived, should be so clearly explained, as that their precise signification should be expressly agreed on by both parties.

“ Secondly, all expressions of self-sufficiency should be carefully avoided; *he* uses such expressions, who calls his own cause, the cause of God, and his own interpretation, the word of God.

“ Thirdly, whoever uses personal reflections should be deemed an enemy to truth: they prevent even just reason from being attended to by common men.

“ Fourthly, no one should accuse his adversary of indirect motives.

“ Fifthly, the consequences of any doctrine are not to be charged on those, who hold those doctrines, unless they expressly avow them. If, from any proposition, absurd propositions follow, it is rightly concluded, that the original proposition is false; but it cannot be rightly concluded, that the adversaries maintain those absurd propositions;—that is, barely a matter of fact.

“ Sixthly, it is improper to refer any saying of an adversary to a party; this is done, when it is said, this is downright Popish superstition, Scottish philosophy, Irish blundering, rash Tory principle.”

“ These rules,” says Mr. Kirwan, “ have been very seldom observed in any controversy; the nearest approach to a perfect conformity to them, may be seen in the controversial correspondence of the late excellent Dr. Priestley and Dr. Price, and also in the amicable conference of the learned Beza and professor Jacobi, at Montbeliard.”— Mr. Kirwan might have added, the *Amica Collatio* of Limborth and the Jew Orobio. They were not observed in the controversy between Bossuet and Fenelon; but, in the controversy between Bossuet and Claude, to the perusal of which I invite every reader, there was no departure from any one of them.—“ In my heart,” says Dr. Milner, in his *Strictures on some of the publications of the*

learned Lady Margaret Professor—“ I love a good argument.”—Readers of this taste will be abundantly gratified by Bossuet’s account of this celebrated conference.

X.

In addition to the excellent rules for controversy, laid down by Dr. Hey, I beg leave to suggest the particular observance of the following rule in all religious controversies with roman-catholics:—
“ *That no doctrines should be ascribed to them, as a body, except such as are articles of their faith.*”

—Of the many misconceptions of their tenets, of which the roman-catholics complain, they feel none more than those, which proceed from the want of observance of this rule. It is most true, that the roman-catholics believe the doctrines of their church to be unchangeable: and that it is a tenet of their creed, that what their faith ever has been, such it was from the beginning, such it now is, and such it ever will be. But this they confine to the articles of their faith; and they consider no doctrine to be of faith, unless it have been delivered by divine revelation, and been propounded, as such, by the church. This the roman-catholics wish their adversaries never to forget.

When any of their adversaries find, in any catholic writer a position, which he thinks reprehensible, he should inquire, whether it be an article of catholic faith, or an opinion of the writer. In the

latter case, he should reflect, that the general body of the catholics is not responsible for it, and should therefore abstain from charging it upon the body.

If he take the higher ground, he should first endeavour to ascertain, that it is an article of the roman-catholic faith.—But here, again, he should carefully examine, whether it be the principle itself, which he means to impute to the catholics, or a consequence which he deduces from it. These are widely different, and should never be confounded. If it be the principle, he should then inquire, whether it have ever been propounded to them, as an article of faith, by the church. A wise method of ascertaining this, would be, to read the “*Catechism of the Council of Trent.*” A proper perusal, however, of that work, requires attentive study: if he be unable to give it such a perusal, let him read Bossuet’s “*Exposition of Faith;*” and consult, (if not the work itself), at least the abridgment of Mr. Gother’s “*Papist Misrepresented and Represented:*” let him also read Dr. Challoner’s “*Three Short Summaries of Catholic Faith and Doctrine,*” prefixed to his “*Garden of the Soul.*” the most popular Prayer-book of the English catholics. Having read these, let him ascertain, whether the doctrine, with which he charges the catholics, be, in terms or substance, stated in any of them, to be an article of their faith. If he conceive that it is stated, in any of them, to be such, let him insert, in his publication, the passage, in which he professes

to discover it, mentioning explicitly the work, the edition of it, and the page in which it is to be found. Should the passage be found, in terms, or substance, in any of the works I have mentioned, then it will be incumbent on the catholics, either to show that the writer, in whose work the passage is found, was mistaken, (which from the acknowledged character of all the works I have mentioned, will not, I think, ever happen), or to admit, that it is an article of their faith ; and then the roman-catholics will be justly chargeable with it. Whatever other opinions can be adduced, though they be the opinions of their most respectable writers, though they be the opinions of the fathers of their church, still they are but matters of opinion, and a catholic may disbelieve them, without ceasing to be a catholic. Would it not be both a fair and a short way of ending the controversy between the protestants and catholics, that every person, who charges the general body of catholics with any religious tenet, should be obliged to cite from the catechism of the council of Trent, or from one or other of the works I have mentioned, of Bossuet, Mr. Gother, or Dr. Chaloner, the passage in which such tenet is contained and propounded as an article of faith ?

ESSAY III.

On the Work intitled “ROMAN-CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES in reference to GOD and the KING;” first published in 1680:—to which a correct edition of the Principles is added.

AFTER the greater part of the “*Confessions of Faith*” had been printed, it occurred to the writer of them that the short document of roman-catholic faith, which is the subject of the present articles, might, without impropriety, be allowed a place in this compilation. It has no pretensions to the rank of a symbolic book; but it is a clear and accurate exposition of the Roman-catholic creed, *on some of its most important articles*, and has all the authority, that such a document can receive from time and universal assent.

The work was first printed in 1680.

Six editions of it were printed before 1684. Lord Stafford referred to it, on his memorable trial in 1680. In the following year appeared “*Stafford’s Memoirs, or a brief and impartial Account of the trial, principles, and final end of William late Lord Viscount Stafford.*” In a folio edition of

this work, which the present writer has seen, they are found in the 47th page.

Six editions of them were published by Mr. Gother in 1684 and 1686. Mr. Gother was the most eminent of the roman-catholic controversial advocates and spiritual writers of his time. Mr. Dodd, in the third volume of his Ecclesiastical History, p. 482, mentions seventeen controversial, and twelve spiritual works of his composition. “The style of them,” he says, “is natural and “unaffected; and, in the opinion of Mr. Dryden, “the poet laureat, a master-piece of the English “language.” His most popular controversial work is “*A Papist misrepresented and represented, or a two-fold character of Popery.*” A reply to it was published with the title, “*The Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome truly represented.*” To this Mr. Gother replied, by “*Reflections upon the answer to the Papist misrepresented.*” A reply to it was published with the title, “*A Papist not misrepresented by Protestants.*” Mr. Gother opposed to it, “*Papists protesting against Protestant Popery.*” This was met by “*An Answer to a discourse intitled, Papists, protesting against Protestant Popery.*” There were other answers and replies; those, which have been mentioned were the most celebrated in their time, and are often met with, bound together: he, who possesses them has a complete attack and defence of the roman-catholic religion. *An abridgment of*

the papist misrepresented, was printed by the late Dr. Challoner; the seventeenth edition of it has been seen by the present writer. The most eminent of Mr. Gother's spiritual works, is his *Instructions on the Epistles and Gospels of the whole year, in three volumes*, 8vo. The reader of them will certainly agree with Mr. Dryden in his opinion of the great beauty of the style, and perhaps think with the present writer, that no composition in the English language approaches nearer to the severe and nervous simplicity of the best writings of the Dean of St. Patrick's. It is no small commendation of The Principles, that they were adopted by such a writer.

Not fewer than twenty-four other editions of The Principles have been discovered. A partial edition of them was published in 1749, in his *Catechism for the adult*, by the Rev. John Hornyold, a distinguished member of the singularly loved and revered roman-catholic family of that name, at Blackmore Park, in Worcestershire. That gentleman was afterwards ordained bishop, and was vicar-apostolic of the Midland district of English roman-catholics. The Principles were published at Dublin, by Mr. O'Connor of Belanagare. On perusing this edition of them, Dr. Leland, the historian, is said to have declared, that, if such were the principles of catholics, no government had any right to quarrel with them. Dr. Coppinger, the roman-catholic bishop in

Cloyne, published them in his Prayer Book intitled, *True piety, or the day well spent*, now, at least, in its ninth edition. In 1785, the Rev. Mr. Joseph Berrington, to whom the public is indebted for many elegant and interesting works, brought them into general notice, by inserting them at the end of his *Reflections addressed to the Rev. John Hawkins*.

It has been confidently asserted, that the committee of the English roman-catholics published an edition of The Principles. This is a mistake; but, in 1788, the committee sent to Mr. Pitt, with whom they were then in intercourse on the subject of the bill, which afterwards passed for the relief of the English roman-catholics, a copy of The Principles. They accompanied it with a letter, dated the 9th day of May, 1788, in which they mentioned to Mr. Pitt, that, “ they took the liberty to enclose a printed summary of their tenets, which they were persuaded every catholic would readily sign.” The letter was subscribed by Lord Stourton, Lord Petre, Sir Henry Charles Englefield, Sir William Jerningham, Sir John Throckmorton, Mr. William Fermor, Mr. John Towneley, and Mr. Thomas Hornyold.

To give this copy of The Principles greater authenticity, the honourable James Talbot, then vicar-apostolic of the London district of the English roman-catholics, signed the first page of it with his name.

The late Dr. Walmesley, the vicar-apostolic of the Western district of the English roman-catholics, is known to have mentioned in a letter to one of his friends, that “ The exposition of the “ catholic doctrine, published in Mr. Berrington’s “ book, appeared to him to be composed with great “ judgment and precision.”

Of Mr. Walmesley, thus presented to the writer’s mind, (to copy a phrase of Dr. Johnson in his life of Smith, the poet), let the writer be permitted to say, that it is a just cause of reproach to the English province of the religious order to which he belonged,—(he was a Benedictine monk), —that they have not favoured the public with an account of that gentleman’s profound mathematical researches. He first became known, as a mathematician, by a defence of Sir Isaac Newton’s doctrine of Fluxions, in one of the foreign journals. It was received with universal applause ; and the academy of Berlin chose him a member of their institute ; but he modestly declined the offer. In 1747, he entered into the discussions, to which the celebrated problem of the Three Bodies then gave rise ; and his investigations of it, though scarcely known in his native country, were thought, on the continent, to be on a level with those of Clairaut, d’Alembert, and Euler. While he was thus advancing to the height of mathematical fame, he was appointed vicar-apostolic for the western district of English roman-catholics, and upon, or, at least

soon after his nomination to that dignity, gave up entirely his mathematical pursuits. This, it has been said, was owing to his having been once so completely subdued, while he was celebrating the sacred mysteries, by a mathematical distraction, as to find himself making diagrams on the linen of the altar, with the patten, a thin plate, used by catholic bishops and priests in the ceremonies of the altar. It is also said, that, when his dereliction of mathematics was mentioned to d'Alembert, he expressed great concern at the loss, which mathematics would sustain in consequence of his adieu to them. He lived in an edifying discharge of every pastoral and every pious duty, to a very advanced age: but to the last, if a mathematical subject was mentioned, his countenance would lighten, and discover his suppressed affection for mathematic lore. He published some mathematical works, which answer his great reputation, and probably left behind him valuable manuscripts. Under the direction of some religious gentlemen of his order, an excellent school has been lately established in Ampleforth, in Yorkshire. There certainly is a call on the superiors of this learned community, for a critical account of the life and writings of a member of their order, who did it so much honour. Very honourable mention is made of him by *Montucla* in his *History of Philosophy*.

The last and best edition of The Principles, was

published in 1815, by the Rev. John Kirk, the roman-catholic pastor at Lichfield. He has prefixed to it, a laboured and curious inquiry respecting the editions and author of them. By a variety of arguments and inferences he makes it appear highly probable, that the author of them was the Rev. father James Corker, abbot of the Benedictine abbey of *Lambspring* in Germany. The inquiry is ably executed, and contains much interesting matter. Mr. Kirk is now engaged in preparing for the press a new edition, to be greatly enlarged, and continued to the present times, of *Mr. Dodd's Church History of England, from 1500 to 1688*. It is hoped that it will meet with encouragement: the work is important, and a better editor of it cannot be imagined.

Considering the variety of editions, through which the tract in question has passed, and the character of the editors, there cannot be a doubt of its containing a just and fair exposition of The Principles of the roman-catholics, on the points to which it relates. As such, from Mr. Kirk's edition of it, we now present it to the reader.

ROMAN CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES IN REFERENCE TO
GOD AND THE KING.

SECTION I.

Of the Catholic Faith, and Church in general.

1. THE fruition of God, and the remission of sin are not attainable by man, otherwise than *in and by the merits of Jesus Christ*, who gratuitously purchased them for us.

2. These merits of Christ, though infinite in themselves, are not applied to us, otherwise than by a *right faith* in him.

3. This faith is but *one* entire, and conformable to its object, which is *divine revelation* : and to which *faith* gives an undoubting assent.

4. This *revelation* contains many *mysteries*, transcending the natural reach of human understanding. Wherefore,

5. It became the divine *Wisdom* and *Goodness* to provide some *way* or *means*, whereby man might arrive to the *knowledge* of these *mysteries* ; means *visible* and *apparent* to all ; means *proportioned* to the capacities of all ; means *sure* and *certain* to all.

6. This *way* or *means* is not the *reading* of

Scripture, interpreted according to the *private judgment* of each disjunctive person, or nation in particular ; But,

7. It is an *attention* and *submission* to the voice of the *catholic* or *universal church*, established by Christ for the instruction of all ; spread for that end through all *nations*, and *visibly* continued in the succession of *pastors*, and *people* through all *ages*.—From this church, *guided in truth*, and secured from *error* in matters of *faith*, by the *promised assistance of the Holy Ghost*, every one may *learn* the right sense of the *Scriptures*, and such *Christian mysteries and duties* as are necessary to salvation.

8. This church, thus established, thus spread, thus continued, thus guided, in *one uniform faith*, and *subordination* of government, is that which is termed the *Roman Catholic Church* : the qualities just mentioned, *unity*, *indeficiency*, *visibility*, *succession*, and *universality*, being evidently applicable to her.

9. From the *testimony* and *authority* of this church, it is, that we receive the *Scriptures*, and believe them to be the *word of God* : and as she can *assuredly* tell us what particular book is the *word of God*, so can she with the like *assurance* tell us also the true *sense* and *meaning* of it, in controverted points of *faith* ; the same *spirit* that wrote the *Scriptures*, *directing* her to understand both them, and all matters necessary to salvation.—From these grounds it follows :

10. Only *truths revealed* by Almighty God, and *proposed* by the church, to be believed *as such*, are and ought to be esteemed, *articles of Catholic faith*.

11. As an *obstinate separation* from the *unity* of the church, in *known* matters of faith, is *heresy*; so a *wilful separation* from the *visible unity* of the same church, in matters of *subordination* and *government*, is *schism*.

12. The church proposes unto us matters of faith, first and chiefly by the *Holy Scripture*, in points plain and intelligible in it; secondly, by definitions of general councils, in points not sufficiently plain in *Scripture*; thirdly, by apostolical traditions derived from Christ and his apostles to all succeeding ages; fourthly, by her practice, worship, and ceremonies *confirming her doctrine*.

SECTION II.

Of spiritual and temporal Authority.

1. THE *pastors* of the church—who are the body *representative*—either dispersed or convened in *council*, have received no commission from Christ to frame *new articles of faith*—these being solely *divine revelations*—but only to *explain* and to *define* to the faithful what anciently was, and is received and retained, as of *faith* in the church, when *debates* and *controversies* arise about them.

These *definitions* in *matters of faith* only, and proposed *as such*, oblige all the faithful to a *submission of judgment*. But,

2. It is no article of faith, that the church cannot *err*, either in *matters of fact* or *discipline*, alterable by circumstances of time and place, or in *matters of speculation* or *civil policy*, depending on mere human judgment or testimony. These things are no *revelations deposited* in the catholic church, in regard of which alone, she has the *promised assistance* of the Holy Spirit.—Hence it is deduced,

3. If a *general council*, much less a *papal consistory*, should presume to *depose a king*, and to *absolve his subjects* from their *allegiance*, no *catholic* could be bound to *submit* to such a *decree*.—Hence also it follows, that,

4. The subjects of the king of England lawfully may, without the least breach of any *catholic principle*, renounce, upon oath, the teaching or practising the *doctrine of deposing kings* excommunicated for heresy, by any authority whatsoever, as repugnant to the *fundamental laws* of the nation, as injurious to *sovereign power*, as destructive to *peace and government*, and consequently in his Majesty's subjects, as *impious and damnable*.*

* Mr. Berrington in his edition observes in a note at this place, "that he dislikes the word *damnable*, as it conveys no idea, or, if any, says too much; but lets it stand to show how desirous our ancestors were, by the most emphatical language, to express their detestation of the papal *deposing power*."

5. Catholics believe that the bishop of *Rome*, successor of *St. Peter*, is the *head of the whole catholic church*; in which sense, this church may therefore fitly be styled *Roman-catholic*, being an *universal body*, united under *one visible head*. Nevertheless,

6. It is *no matter of faith* to believe that the *pope* is in himself *infallible*, separated from the church, even in *expounding the faith*: by consequence, *papal definitions* or *decrees*, in whatever form pronounced, taken exclusively from a *general council*, or *universal acceptance of the church*, oblige none, under *pain of heresy*, to an interior assent.

7. Nor do catholics, as *catholics*, believe that the *pope* has any direct or indirect *authority* over the *temporal power* and *jurisdiction* of *princes*. Hence, if the *pope* should pretend to *absolve* or *dispense* with his Majesty's subjects from their *allegiance*, on account of *heresy* or *schism*, such *dispensation* would be *vain* and *null*: and all catholic subjects, notwithstanding such *dispensation* or *absolution*, would be still bound in conscience to defend their king and country, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, (as far as protestants would be bound) even *against the pope* himself, in case he should invade the nation.

8. As for the *problematical disputes*, or errors of particular divines, in this or any other matter whatsoever, we are no wise *responsible* for them;

nor are catholics, as *catholics*, justly *punishable* on their account. But,

9. As for the *king-killing doctrine*, or murder of princes excommunicated for heresy, it is universally admitted in the catholic church, and expressly so declared by the council of *Constance*, that such doctrine is *impious* and *execrable*, being contrary to the known *laws* of God and nature.

10. *Personal misdemeanors*, of what nature soever, ought not to be *imputed* to the catholic church, when not justifiable by the *tenets* of her faith and doctrine. For which reason, though the stories of the *Irish cruelties* or *powder plot*, had been exactly true (which yet, for the most part, are notoriously misrelated) nevertheless catholics, as such, ought not to suffer for such *offences*, any more than the eleven apostles ought to have suffered for the *treachery* of *Judas*.

11. It is a *fundamental truth* in our religion, that no *power* on earth can *license* men to *lie*, to *forswear*, or *perjure* themselves, to *massacre* their neighbours, or *destroy* their native country, on pretence of *promoting* the catholic cause or religion: furthermore, all *pardons* or *dispensations* granted, or pretended to be granted, in order to any such *ends* or designs, could have no other validity or effect, than to add *sacrilege* and *blasphemy* to the above-mentioned crimes.

12. The doctrine of *equivocation* or *mental reservation*, however wrongfully imputed to the

church, was never taught, or approved by her, as any part of her belief: On the contrary, *simplicity* and *godly sincerity* are constantly inculcated by her as truly *Christian virtues* necessary to the conservation of *justice, truth, and common security.*

SECTION III.

Of other Points of Catholic Faith.

1. We believe, that there are seven *sacraments*, or sacred ceremonies, instituted by our Saviour Christ, whereby the *merits* of his passion are *applied* to the soul of the worthy receiver.
2. We believe, that when a sinner repents of his sins from the *bottom* of his *heart*, and *acknowledges* his transgressions to *God* and his *ministers*, the *dispensers of the mysteries of Christ*, resolving to turn from his evil ways, and *bring forth fruits worthy of penance*; there is then, and *no otherwise*, an authority left by Christ to *absolve* such a *penitent sinner* from his sins: which authority, we believe, Christ gave to his *apostles* and their *successors*, the *bishops* and *priests* of his church, in those words, when he said, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven unto them, &c.*

3. Though no creature whatsoever can make condign *satisfaction*, either for the *guilt* of sin, or the *pain eternal* due to it, this *satisfaction* being

proper to Christ our Saviour only, yet *penitent sinners*, redeemed by Christ, may, as *members of Christ*, in some measure *satisfy* by prayer, fasting, alms-deeds, and other works of piety, for the *temporal pain*, which in the order of divine justice sometimes remains due, after the *guilt of sin* and *pains eternal* have been remitted. Such *penitential works* are, notwithstanding, no otherwise *satisfactory* than as *joined* and applied to that *satisfaction*, which Jesus made upon the cross, in virtue of which *alone* all our good works find a grateful acceptance in the sight of God.

4. The *guilt of sin*, or *pain eternal* due to it, is *never* remitted by what catholics call *indulgences*; but only such *temporal punishments* as remain due after the guilt is remitted:—these *indulgences* being nothing else than a *mitigation* or *relaxation*, upon just causes, of *canonical penances*, enjoined by the pastors of the church on penitent sinners, according to their several degrees of demerit.—And if abuses or mistakes have been sometimes committed, in point either of granting or gaining *indulgences*, through the remissness or ignorance of particular persons, contrary to the ancient custom and discipline of the church; such abuses or mistakes cannot rationally be charged on the church, or rendered matters of derision, in prejudice to her faith and discipline.

5. Catholics hold there is a *purgatory*; that is to say, a place, or state, where souls departing this

life, with remission of their sins, as to the eternal guilt or pain, but yet *obnoxious* to some temporal *punishment*, of which we have spoken, still remaining due, or not perfectly freed from the blemish of some *defects* or *deordinations*, are *purged* before their admittance into heaven, where nothing that is *defiled* can enter. Furthermore,

6. Catholics also hold, that such souls so detained in *purgatory*, being the *living members* of Christ Jesus, are *relieved* by the *prayers* and *suffrages* of their *fellow-members* here on earth: But where this place is; of what nature or quality the pains are; how long souls may be there detained; in what manner the *suffrages* made in their behalf are applied; whether by way of *satisfaction* or *intercession*, &c. are questions superfluous and impertinent as to faith.

7. No man, though *just*, can merit either an increase of sanctity in this life, or eternal glory in the next, independently on the merits and passion of Christ Jesus: But the *good works* of a just man proceeding from *grace* and *charity*, are so far *acceptable* to God through his goodness and sacred *promises*, as to be truly *meritorious* of eternal life.

8. It is an article of catholic belief, that in the most holy sacrament of the *Eucharist*, there is truly and really contained the *body* of Christ, *which was delivered for us*; and *his blood*, *which was shed for the remission of sins*: the substance of

bread and *wine* being, by the powerful words of Christ, *changed* into the *substance* of his blessed body and blood; the *species* or appearances of *bread* and *wine*, by the will of God, remaining as they were. But,

9. Christ is not present in this sacrament, according to his *natural* way of existence, or rather as *bodies* naturally exist, but in a manner proper to the character of his exalted and *glorified* body; His presence then is *real* and *substantial*, but *sacramental*; not exposed to the external senses, or obnoxious to corporal contingencies.

10. Neither is the body of Christ, in this holy sacrament, *separated* from his blood, or his blood from his body, or either of them disjoined from his soul and divinity; but all and whole *living Jesus* is *entirely* contained under *either* species: so that whosoever receives under *one kind* is truly partaker of the *whole* sacrament; he is not deprived either of the body or the blood of Christ. True it is,

11. Our Saviour left unto us his body and blood, under two *distinct species*, or kinds; in doing of which he instituted not only a *sacrament*, but also a *sacrifice*; a *commemorative sacrifice*, distinctly *showing* his death and bloody passion, *until he come*. For as the *sacrifice of the cross* was performed by a distinct *effusion of blood*; so is that sacrifice commemorated in that of the *altar*, by a *distinction of the symbols*. Jesus therefore is here *given*, not only *to us*, but *for us*; and the

church thereby is enriched with a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice usually termed the *mass*.

12. Catholics renounce all *divine worship* and adoration of *images* and *pictures*; God alone we *worship and adore*; nevertheless we place pictures in our churches, to reduce our wandering thoughts and to enliven our memories towards *heavenly things*. Further, we show a *respect* to the images of Christ and his saints, beyond what is due to every profane figure; not that we can believe any *divinity* or virtue to reside in them, for which they ought to be honoured, but because the honour given to pictures is referred to the *prototype*, or thing represented. In like manner,

13. There is a kind of honour and respect due to the *Bible*, to the *cross*, to the name of *Jesus*, to *churches*, to the *sacraments*, &c. as things peculiarly appertaining to God; and to *kings*, *magistrates*, and *superiors* on earth; to whom honour is due, honour may be given, without any derogation to the majesty of God, or that divine worship which is appropriate to him. Moreover,

14. Catholics believe, that the blessed saints in heaven, replenished with charity, *pray* for us their *fellow-members* here on earth; that they rejoice at our *conversion*; that seeing God, they *see* and *know in him* all things suitable to their happy state: But God may be inclinable to hear their *requests* made in our behalf, and for their sakes may grant us many favours; therefore we believe

that it is *good* and *profitable* to *desire* their *intercession*. Can this manner of *invocation* be more injurious to Christ our *mediator*, than it is for one Christian to beg the prayers of another here on earth? However, Catholics are not taught so to rely on the *prayers* of others, as to neglect their own *duty* to God; in *imploring* his *divine mercy* and *goodness*; in mortifying the *deeds of the flesh*; in *despising* the world; in *loving* and *serving* God and their neighbour; in following the *footsteps* of Christ our Lord, who is the *way*, the *truth*, and the *life*: to whom be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

ESSAY IV.

On the Re-union of Christians.

IT was the intention of the writer of these pages, to close his account of the symbolic books of the Christian churches, with a succinct HISTORY OF THE ATTEMPTS, WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE AT DIFFERENT TIMES, FOR THEIR RE-UNION. The subject has been exhausted by a learned and interesting work, published at Paris, “*De la Réunion des Communions Chrétiennes; ou Histoire des Négociations, Conférences, Correspondances qui ont eu lieu, des projets et des plans qui ont été formées à ce sujet, depuis la naissance du Protestantisme jusqu'à présent. Par M. Tabaraud, prêtre de la ci-devant congrégation de l'Oratoire. Paris 1808, 1 vol. 8vo.*” An excellent sketch of these attempts had been previously given by Doctor Mosheim, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Cent. XVI. sect. 2. part. 2. c. 1. and Cent. XVII. sect. 2. c. 1. To these publications the reader is referred:—the present Essay may be found to contain, I. A general view of the attempts made after the Reformation, to unite the lutheran and calvinist churches: II. Some account of the attempts made at different times by the sovereigns of France

for the conversion of their protestant subjects : III. The correspondence of Bossuet and Leibnitz, under the auspices of Lewis the fourteenth, for the re-union of the lutheran churches to the church of Rome : IV. Some account of an attempt made in the reign of George the first, to reunite the church of England to the church of Rome : V. And some general remarks on the re-union of Christians.—Under the first of these heads, a short mention will be made of the members of the protestant church of the united brethren, called vulgarly Moravians.

I.

Attempts to unite the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches.

THE great division of protestant churches is into the Lutheran and Calvinist communions. The abbé Tabaraud relates in the work, which we have just cited, not fewer than fifteen different attempts to effect a re-union of their churches. In reading his account and the account given by Mosheim of these attempts, there appears to the writer, to have been on each side something to commend and something to blame. It seems to him, that the lutherans deserve credit for the open and explicit manner, in which, on these occasions, they propounded the tenets of their creed to the calvinists ; that the conduct of the calvinists was more liberal and conciliating ; but that, on the other hand, the conduct

of the lutherans towards the calvinists was generally repulsive and sometimes deserving a much harsher name; while the conduct of the calvinists was sometimes chargeable with ambiguity. "It was deplorable," says Mosheim, (Cent. xvii. sect. 2. part 2, art. 3, " to see two churches, which had " discovered an equal degree of pious zeal and " fortitude in throwing off the despotic yoke of " Rome, divided among themselves, and living in " discords, that were highly detrimental to the " interests of religion, and the well-being of society. " Hence, several eminent divines and leading men " both among the lutherans and calvinists, sought " anxiously after some method of uniting the two " churches, though divided in their opinions, in the " bonds of christian charity and ecclesiastical com- " munion. A competent knowledge of human " nature and human passions was sufficient to per- " suade these wise and pacific mediators, that a " perfect uniformity in religious opinions was not " practicable, and that it would be entirely extra- " gant to imagine that any of these communities " could ever be brought to embrace universally, " and without limitation, the doctrines of the other. " They made it, therefore, their principal business " to persuade those, whose spirits were inflamed " with the heat of controversy, that the points in " debate between the two churches were not es- " sential to true religion;—that the fundamental " doctrines of christianity were received and pro-

“ fessed in both communions ; and that the difference of opinion between the contending parties, turned either upon points of an abstruse and incomprehensible nature, or upon matters of indifference, which neither tended to make mankind wiser or better, and in which the interests of genuine piety were in no wise concerned. Those, who viewed things in this point of light, were obliged to acknowledge, that the diversity of opinions between the two churches was by no means a sufficient reason for their separation ; and that of consequence they were called, by the dictates of that gospel, which they both professed, to live, not only in the mutual exercise of christian charity, but also to enter into the fraternal bonds of church communion. The greatest part of the reformed doctors seemed disposed to acknowledge, that the errors of the lutherans were not of a momentous nature, nor of a pernicious tendency ; and that the fundamental doctrines of christianity had not undergone any remarkable alteration in that communion ; and thus, on their side, an important step was made towards peace and union between the two churches. But the greatest part of the lutheran doctors declared, that they could not form a like judgment with respect to the doctrine of the reformed churches ; they maintained tenaciously the importance of the points which divided the two communions, and affirmed, that a considerable part of the

“ controversy turned upon the fundamental principles of all religion and virtue. It is not at all surprising, that this steadiness and constancy of the lutherans was branded by the opposite party with the epithets of morose obstinacy, supercilious arrogance, and such like odious denominations. The lutherans were not behind hand with their adversaries, in acrimony of style ; they re criminated with vehemence, and charged their accusers with instances of misconduct, different in kind, but equally condemnable. They reproached them with having dealt disingenuously, by disguising, under ambiguous expressions, the real doctrine of the reformed churches ; they observed further, that their adversaries, notwithstanding their consummate prudence and circumspection, gave plain proofs, on many occasions, that their propensity to a reconciliation between the two churches arose from views of private interest, rather than from a zeal for the public good.” It is observable that Mosheim applies these observations to a late stage of the reformation, when much of its first violence had subsided.

The nearest approach to a re-union between any protestant churches seems to be that, which took place at Sendomir, in the year 1570. In a former part of this work, mention was made of this convention, of its dissolution, and of the subsequent union of the Helvetian and Bohemian protestant congregations in the synods held at Astrog, in the

year 1620, and 1627. The original settlement of these churches was in Bohemia and Moravia. Persecution scattered the members of them : a considerable number of the fugitives settled at Herrenhut, a village in Lusatia. There, under the protection and guidance of count Zinzendorf, they formed themselves into a new community, which was designed to comprehend their actual and future congregations, under the title of "*The Protestant Church of the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren of the Confession of Augsburgh.*" That confession is their only symbolic book ; but they profess great esteem for the eighteen first chapters of the synodical document of the church of Berne in 1532, as a declaration of true christian doctrine. They also respect the writings of count Zinzendorf, but do not consider themselves bound by any opinion, sentiment, or expression which these contain. It is acknowledged, that, towards the middle of the last century, they used, in their devotional exercises particularly in their hymns, many expressions justly censurable : but these have been corrected. They consider lutherans and calvinists, to be their brethren in faith, as according with them in the essential articles of religion ; and therefore, when any of their members reside at a distance from a congregation of the united brethren, they not only attend a lutheran, or calvinist church, but receive the sacrament from its ministers, without scruple. In this, they profess to act in conformity to the con-

vention at Sendomir. The union, which prevails both among the congregations, and the individuals which compose them, their modest and humble carriage, their moderation in pursuits of gain, the simplicity of their manners, their laborious industry, their frugal habits, their ardent but mild piety, and their regular discharge of all their spiritual observances, are universally acknowledged and admired. Their charities are boundless, their kindness to their poor brethren is most edifying ; there is not among them a beggar. The care, which they bestow on the education of their children, in forming their minds, chastening their hearts and curbing their imaginations,—particularly in those years,

“ When youth, elate and gay,
Steps into life and follows, unrestrained,
Where passion leads, or reason points the way.”

LOWTH.

are universally acknowledged, universally admired, and deserve universal imitation.

But, it is principally by the extent and success of their missionary labours, that they now engage the attention of the public. These began in 1732. In 1812, they had thirty-three settlements in heathen nations. One hundred and thirty-seven missionaries were employed in them : they had baptised twenty-seven thousand four hundred converts : and such had been their care in admitting them to that sacred rite, and such their assiduity in cultivating

a spirit of religion among them, that scarcely an individual had been known to relapse into paganism. All travellers who have visited their settlements speak with wonder and praise of the humility, the patient endurance of privation and hardship, the affectionate zeal, the mild and persevering exertions of the missionaries; and the innocence, industry and piety of the converts:—the European, the American, the African, and the Asiatic traveller speaks of them in the same terms: and, that they speak without exaggeration, the conduct both of the pastor and the flock in the different settlements of the united brethren in England, incontestably proves. Whatever he may think of their religious tenets, *Talis cum sis, utinam noster esses*, must be the exclamation of every christian, who considers their lives. Those, who desire further knowledge of this amiable and worthy denomination of christians, will find it in *David Cranz's ancient and modern History of the Brethren*, printed at Barby, 1771, and the two continuations of it, Barby, 1791, and 1804. The history has been translated into English; and is become exceedingly scarce: the continuations have not been translated. Mr. La Trobe, the pastor of the united brethren in London, has published a *Concise Historical Account of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren adhering to the Confession of Augsburgh*. How much more pleasing it is to recount the virtues, than descent on the errors of any christians! St. Augustine

was not prevented by his polemic controversies with Pelagius from reporting him “ an holy man, very “ much improved in christian virtue, a good man, “ and worthy of praise.”—(*Mr. Alban Butler's Lives of the Saints, Murphy's edition. August. p. 432.*)

II.

Attempts for a Re-union of the Calvinist churches to the See of Rome.

HAVING thus summarily noticed the unsuccessful attempts to effect an union between the lutheran and calvinist churches, we procced to a similar summary mention of the attempts, equally unsuccessful, to effect the re-union of the calvinists to the church of Rome, which were made, 1st, during the reign of Henry the fourth: 2dly, during the reign of Lewis the thirteenth: and 3dly, during the reign of Lewis the fourteenth: 4thly, we shall afterwards notice the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and the complete restoration of the protestants of France to their civil rights in the reign of Lewis the eighteenth.

II. 1. An attempt to re-unite the calvinists to the church of Rome was made at the celebrated conference held at Poissi in 1561. In the work which we have cited, the abbé Tabaraud gives a short and clear account of this conference. It failed of success, and a long civil war of religion ensued. It was closed by the conversion of *Henry the fourth* to the roman-catholic religion. He was

no sooner quietly seated on the throne, than he conceived the arduous, but certainly the noble project of pacifying the religious contests of the world. It appears that he was induced to entertain hopes of the success of this measure, by the assurances given him by the calvinist ministers, when his change of religion was in agitation, that salvation might be obtained in the church of Rome ; and from his expectation of finding a spirit of conciliation and concession in the see of Rome. “ I have heard from persons of distinction,” says Grotius, *epist. 1706, p. 736*, “ that Henry the fourth declared “ that he had great hopes of procuring for the king “ of England, and the other protestant princes, who “ were his allies, conditions, which they could not “ honourably refuse, if they had any real wish of re- “ turning to the unity of the church ; and that he “ had once an intention of employing bishops of his “ own kingdom on this project ; but that this project “ failed by his death.”

It is said, that, with these views, he invited Isaac Casaubon, a protestant divine of equal learning and moderation to Paris, and appointed him his librarian ; and intended confidentially employing him in preparing means for the success of the measure, and smoothing the obstacles which might impede its progress. Grotius, (*epist. 613*), mentions, as a saying of Casaubon, that “ the catholics of France had a juster way of thinking than the ministers of Charenton : ” these were the

most rigid of the French hugonot ministers. It is observable that the French government always considered the hugonots of a much more refractory disposition than the lutherans.

II. 2. The pacific views of Henry the fourth were terminated by his decease. The capture of la Rochelle by the arms of *Lewis the thirteenth* was a fatal blow to the political consequence of the protestant party in France. Cardinal Richelieu immediately set on foot a project for the general conversion of the body: two persons of very different characters were employed by him in this measure; father Joseph, a capuchin friar, the confidante of all the cardinal's political and private schemes, and father P. Dulaurens, an oratorian, who lived in retirement, wholly absorbed in the exercises of religion. They began the work of re-union by holding frequent conferences, on an amicable footing, with several of the protestant ministers; and it was resolved, that, with the permission of the pope, and the authority of the king, an assembly should be convened of ecclesiastics of each communion. Father Dulaurens recommended that the intended communications with the ministers should not take place, till they reached the capital: but the cardinal thought it more advisable, that the ministers should be separately informed of the project before they left the provinces. It was accordingly communicated to them, and favourably received by the ministers of Languedoc and

Normandy, but met with an unfavourable reception from the ministers of Sedan. It was resolved that the assembly should meet and begin their deliberations with the differences in the opinions of the two churches, respecting the sacraments. Father Dulaurens recommended, that, for some time, at least, the Bible, even in the calvinist version of Olivétan, should be the only book appealed to on either side, as authority: but the cardinal insisted on a resort to tradition. Grotius mentions, that, in several articles, (as communion under both kinds, and the invocation of saints), the cardinal was willing that concessions should be made to the protestants; and suggested, that, as a medium, to reconcile them to the pope, a patriarchate should be established in France, and he himself be the first patriarch. (*Epist. Part I. Epist. 482. Part. II. Epist. 53.*) Notwithstanding the general loftiness and overbearing nature of his manners, it appears, particularly from M. de Rullhières, (*Eclaircissements sur l'édit de Nantes, Part I. c. 6.*) that the cardinal acted on this occasion with great moderation, and recommended to his royal master a similar line of moderation in all his conduct towards his protestant subjects.

II. 3. The cardinal's project was suspended by his decease; and resumed under *Lewis the fourteenth.* In 1662, a plan, drawn up by M. le Blanc de Beaulieu, a professor of divinity at Sedan, singularly esteemed both by the roman-catholics

and protestants, by which the essential articles in dispute were reduced to a small number, was adopted by the court, to serve as the basis of discussion. It was resolved, that different synods of protestant ministers should be convened ; that these should be composed of ministers of known moderation and pacific views, and the articles, drawn up by M. le Blanc de Beaulieu, presented to them. Three years were employed in negotiations for effecting this project : several ministers in the lower Languedoc, and the Isle of France, expressed themselves in terms favourable to the measure ; but the synod of Charenton took the alarm, and the project was abandoned.

The revocation of the edict of Nantes, a measure equally unwise and unjust, too soon followed. It is more to be attributed to his ministers and advisers, than to Lewis the fourteenth himself. From the *Eclaircissemens Historiques* of M. de Rullhières, and the life of Bossuet, by M. Baussét, (l. 2. p. 38 — 148), it seems evident, that Lewis the fourteenth had been induced to believe, that the number of protestants was much smaller ; that the conversions of them would be much more rapid, general, and sincere ; and that the measures for hastening their conversion would be much less violent than they really were. It is also due to the monarch to add, that from the authors whom we have cited, it is evident, that when he began to perceive the true state of the transaction, though from false principles

of honour and policy, he would not revoke the edict, he wished it not to be put into great activity, and checked the forwardness of the intendants in its execution.

It is whimsical, (if, on so serious a subject, such a word may be used), that the dragonâde, or employment of the dragoon troops in forcing the conversion of the hugonots, was owing to the wish of Louvois, the minister of Lewis the fourteenth, to become himself a missionary. Observing how much the apparent success of the missionaries recommended them to Lewis the fourteenth, he began to consider them as dangerous rivals for the favour of his royal master, and determined, therefore, to become himself a principal performer. With this view he instituted the dragoon missions, and thus brought a material part of the work of conversion into the war department.

II. 4. The death of Lewis, and the known disposition of the regent, appeared to the protestant party in France to afford a proper opportunity of recovering their rights. Duclos, in his *Mémoires secrets sur les regnes de Louis XIV. et de Louis XV.*, says, that the regent himself wished to restore the protestants to their civil rights, but was dissuaded by his council. Still, he seldom permitted the edicts against them to be executed ; and speaking generally, the protestants seem to have suffered no active persecution in any part of the reign of Lewis the fifteenth. One intolerable grievance,

however, in every part of it, they unquestionably suffered. Their religious principles did not permit them to be married by a roman-catholic priest, in the manner prescribed by the law of the state, and that law did not recognise the legal validity of a marriage, celebrated in any other form. The consequence was, that, in the eye of the law, the marriage of protestants was a mere concubinage, and the offspring of it, illegitimate. To his immortal honour, *Lewis the sixteenth* by his edict of the 17th of November, 1787, accorded to all his non-catholic subjects the full and complete enjoyment of all the rights of his roman-catholic subjects. On a division in the parliament, this edict was registered by a majority of ninety-six votes against sixteen.

The persecution of the hugonots in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, was condemned by the greatest men in France. M. d'Aguesseau, the father of the celebrated chancellor, resigned his office of intendant of Languedoc rather than remain a witness of it; his son repeatedly mentions it with abhorrence. Fenelon, Flechier, and Bossuet, confessedly the ornaments of the Gallican church, lamented it. To the utmost of their power, they prevented the execution of the edict, and lessened its severities, when they could not prevent them. Most sincerely lamenting and condemning the outrages committed by the roman-catholics against the protestants at Nismes, as violations of the law of God and man, but doubting

of the nature and extent, which some have attributed to them, the writer of these pages begs leave to refer to the sermon preached on them by the reverend James Archer, a roman-catholic priest, and printed for Booker, in Bond-street, by the desire of two roman-catholic congregations, as expressing the doctrine of the roman-catholic church, and of all real christians on heretics and the persecution of heretics.

III.

The Correspondence of Bossuet and Leibniz, under the auspices of Lewis the fourteenth, for the Re-union of the Lutheran Protestants to the Roman-Catholic Church.

THIS correspondence forms one of the most interesting events in the life of Bossuet; and the letters, of which it consists, and the other written documents, which relate to it, are highly interesting. The writer will attempt to present the reader with a short account—1st. Of the circumstances which led to this correspondence; 2dly. Of the project of re-union, delivered by Molanus, a lutheran divine, and Bossuet's sentiments on that project; 3dly. Of the intervention of Leibniz in the negotiation; and 4thly. Of the project suggested by Bossuet, and the principal reasons, by which he contended for its reception.

III. 1. It appears that, towards the seventeenth century, the emperor Leopold, and several sovereign princes in Germany, conceived a project of re-uniting

the roman-catholic and lutheran churches. The duke of Brunswick, who had recently embraced the roman-catholic religion, and published his Fifty Reasons for his conversion, (once a popular work of controversy), and the duke of Hanover, the father of the first prince of the illustrious house, which now fills the throne of England, were the original promoters of the attempt. It was generally approved; and the mention of it at the Diet of the empire was favourably received. Some communications upon it took place between the emperor and the ducal princes: and with all their knowledge, several conferences were held upon the subject, between certain distinguished roman-catholic and protestant divines. In these, the bishop of Neustadt, and Molanus, the abbot of Lokkum, took the lead. The first had been consecrated bishop of Tina in Bosnia, then under the dominion of the Turks, with ordinary jurisdiction over some parts of the Turkish territories. His conduct had recommended him to Innocent the eleventh, and that pope had directed him to visit the protestant states in Germany, and inform him of their actual dispositions in respect to the church of Rome. In consequence of this mission, he became known to the emperor, who appointed him to the see of Neustadt, in the neighbourhood of Vienna. Molanus was director of the protestant churches and consistories of Hanover. Both of them were admirably calculated for the office intended them on

this occasion. Each possessed the confidence of his own party, and was esteemed by the other: each was profoundly versed in the matters in dispute: each possessed good sense, moderation, and conciliating manners; and each had the success of the business at heart, and a fixed purpose, that nothing, but a real difference on some essential article of doctrine, should frustrate the project.

The effect of the first conferences was so promising, that the emperor and the two princes resolved, that they should be conducted in a manner more regular, and more likely to bring the object of them to a conclusion. With this view, the business was formally intrusted by both the princes to Molanus alone, and the emperor published a rescript, dated the 20th March, 1691, by which he gave the bishop of Neustadt full authority to treat, on all matters of religion, with the states, communities, and individuals of the empire, reserving to the ecclesiastical and imperial powers, their right to confirm the acts of the bishop, as they should judge advisable. Under these auspicious circumstances, the conference between the bishop of Neustadt and Molanus began.

But, before the events which we have mentioned took place, a correspondence on the subject of a general re-union between catholics and protestants had been carried on for some time, between Pelisson and Leibniz. The former held a considerable rank among the French writers, who adorned the reign

of Lewis the fourteenth ; the latter was eminently distinguished in the literary world. In the exact sciences, he was inferior to Newton alone ; in metaphysics, he had no superior ; in general learning, he had scarcely a rival. He had recommended himself to the Brunswick family, by three volumes, which he had recently published, on the antiquities of that illustrious house ; and was then engaged in the investigation of its Italian descent, and early German shoots. The result of it, under the title of *Origines Guelphicæ*, was published, after his decease, by Scheidius, and is considered to be a perfect model of genealogical history. He was also thoroughly conversant in the theological disputes of the times ; and in all the questions of dogma or history which enter into them.

His correspondence with Pelisson came to the knowledge of Louisa, princess palatine and abbess of Maubrusson. She was a daughter of Frederick, the elector and count palatine of the Rhine, and a sister of the duchess of Hanover. In early life, she had been converted to the roman-catholic religion, and had the conversion of her sister very much at heart. With this view, she sent to her the correspondence between Leibniz and Pelisson, and received from her an account of what was passing between the bishop of Neustadt and Molanus. Both the ladies were anxious to promote the measure, and that Bossuet should take in it the leading part, on the side of the catholics. This was mentioned to

Lewis the fourteenth, and had his approbation. The emperor and both the princes, by all of whom Bossuet was personally esteemed, equally approved of it, and it was finally settled that Bossuet and Leibniz should be joined to the bishop of Neustadt and Molanus, and that the correspondence with Bossuet should pass through the hands of madame de Brinon, who acted as secretary to the abbess of Maubrusson, and is celebrated, by the writers of the times, for her wit and dexterity in business. Thus the matter assumed a still more regular form, and much was expected from the acknowledged talents, learning, and moderation of the actors in it, and their patrons.

III. 2. The conferences between the bishop of Neustadt and Molanus continued for seven months, and ended in their agreeing on twelve articles, to serve for the basis of the discussion, on the terms of the re-union.

The bishop of Neustadt communicated these articles to Bossuet. He seems to have approved of them generally, but to have thought, that some alteration in them was advisable. This being mentioned to Molanus, he published his *Cogitationes Privatae*, a profound and conciliating dissertation. Without entering into any discussion on the points in dispute between the churches, he suggested in it a kind of truce, during which, there should be ecclesiastical communion between them: the lutherans were to acknowledge the pope as the

first of bishops in order and dignity : the church of Rome was to receive the lutherans as her children, without exacting from them any retraction of their alleged errors, or any renunciation of the articles in their creed, condemned by the council of Trent. The anathemas of that council were to be suspended, and a general council was to be convened, in which the protestants were to have a deliberative voice : the sentence of that council was to be definitive, and, in the mean time, the members of each party were to treat the members of the other as brethren, whose errors, however great they might appear, were to be tolerated from motives of peace, and in consideration of their engagements to abandon them, if the council should pronounce against them. To show the probability of a final accommodation, Molanus notices, in his Dissertation, several points, in which one party imputed to the other errors not justly chargeable on them ; several, on which they disputed merely for want of rightly understanding each other ; and several, in which the dispute was of words only.

It appears that the bishop of Neustadt communicated this dissertation to Bossuet, and that Bossuet was delighted with the good sense, candour, and true spirit of conciliation, which it displayed. In his letters, he frequently mentions its author, and always in terms of the highest praise. His own language was equally moderate and conciliating. "The council of Trent," he says in one of his

letters, “ is our stay ; but we shall not use it to
“ prejudice the cause. This would be to take for
“ granted what is in dispute between us. We shall
“ deal more fairly with our opponents. We shall
“ make the council serve for a statement and expla-
“ nation of our doctrines. Thus, we shall come to
“ an explanation on those points, in which either of
“ us imputes to the other, what he does not believe,
“ and in which we dispute, only because we miscon-
“ ceive each other. This may lead us far ; for *the*
“ *abbot of Lokkum has actually conciliated the*
“ *points, so essential, of Justification and the Eu-*
“ *charist : nothing is wanting in him, on that side,*
“ *but that he should be avowed. Why should we not*
“ *hope to conclude in the same manner, disputes less*
“ *difficult and of less importance ? Cela se peut*
“ *pousser si avant, que M. l'abbé de Lokkum a*
“ *concilié actuellement les points, si essentiels, de la*
“ *Justification et du sacrifice de l'Eucharistie, et il*
“ *ne lui manque de ce côté là, que de se faire avouer.*
“ *Pourquoi ne pas esperer de finir par les memes*
“ *moyens des disputes moins difficiles et moins im-*
“ *portantes ?”*

With these rational and conciliatory dispositions, Bossuet and Molanus proceeded. But, after this stage of the business, Molanus disappears, and Leibniz comes on the scene.

III. 3. A Letter, written by Bossuet to M. de Brinon, having been communicated by her to Leibniz, opened the correspondence between him and

Bossuet. In that letter, Bossuet declared explicitly, that the church of Rome was ready to make concessions on points of discipline, and to explain doctrines, but would make no concession in respect to defined articles of faith; and, in particular, would make no such concession, in respect to any, which had been defined by the council of Trent. Leibniz's letter to M. de Brinon, in answer to this communication, is very important. He expresses himself in these terms: "The bishop of Meaux says, 1st. That the project delivered to the bishop of Neustadt, does not appear to him quite sufficient; 2dly. That it is, nevertheless, very useful, as every thing must have its beginning; 3dly. That Rome will never relax from any point of doctrine, defined by the church, and cannot capitulate, in respect to any such article; 4thly. That the doctrine, defined in the council of Trent, is received, in and out of France, by all romancatholics; 5thly. That satisfaction may be given to protestants, in respect to certain points of discipline, or in the way of explanation, and that this had been already done in an useful manner, in some points, mentioned in the project of the bishop of Neustadt. These are the material propositions in the letter of the bishop of Meaux, and I believe all these propositions true. Neither the bishop of Neustadt, nor those, who negotiated with him, make any opposition to them. There is nothing in them, which is not conformable to the

“ sentiments of those persons. The third of them
“ in particular, which might be thought an obstacle
“ to these projects of accommodation, could not be
“ unknown to them; one may even say, that they
“ built on it.”

It seems difficult to deny, that, in this stage of the business, much had been gained to the cause of re-union. The parties were come to a complete understanding on the important articles of Justification, and the Eucharist; and it was admitted, both by Leibniz and Molanus, that, in their view of the concern, an accommodation might be effected between the roman-catholic and lutheran churches, though the former retained all her defined doctrines, and, in particular, all her doctrines defined by the Council of Trent. The question then was, what should be done in respect to the remaining articles in difference between the churches? It is to be wished, that it had been left to Bossuet and Molanus to settle them, in the way of amicable explanation, in which they had settled the two important articles, which we have mentioned. It is evident, from the passages which we have cited from Bossuet, that it was his wish, that the business should proceed on that plan, and that he had hopes of its success. Unfortunately, the business took another direction: Leibniz proclaimed, that after every possible explanation should be given, the lutheran church would still retain some articles, contrary to the defined doctrines of

the church of Rome, and anathematized by the council of Trent. To remove the final effect of this objection, Leibniz held out Molanus's first project, that the lutherans should express a general acquiescence in the authority of the church, and promise obedience to the decisions of a general council, to be called for the purpose of pronouncing on these points; and that, in consequence of these advances on their part, the anathemas of the council of Trent should be suspended, and the lutherans received, provisionally, within the pale of the catholic church. To bring over Bossuet to this plan, he exerted great eloquence, and displayed no common learning.

III. 4. But the eloquence and learning of Leibniz were without effect. In language, equally temperate and firm, Bossuet adhered to his text, that in matters of discipline, or any other matter, distinct from faith, the church of Rome would show the utmost indulgence to the lutherans, but that, on articles of faith, and specifically, on those propounded by the council of Trent, there could be no compromise. This, however, he confined to articles of faith alone: and even on articles of faith, he wished to consult the feelings of protestants, as much as possible. He offered them every fair explanation of the tenets of the council; he required from them no retraction of their own tenets: "Molanus," he says, "will not allow retraction to be mentioned. It may be dispensed with; it

“ will be sufficient that the parties acknowledge the
“ truth, by way of declaration or explanation. To
“ this, the symbolical books give a clear opening, as
“ appears by the passages, which have been pro-
“ duced from them, and will appear, by other
“ passages, which may be produced from them.”

If Bossuet was thus considerate in what regarded faith, it will easily be supposed, how indulgent his sentiments were, in respect to all, that merely regarded discipline. A complete confession of faith being once obtained from the lutherans, he was willing to allow them, if they required it, communion under both kinds; that their bishops should retain their sees; and that, where there was no bishop, and the whole body of the people was protestant, under the care of a superintendent, *that* superintendent should be consecrated their bishop; that, where there was a catholic bishop, and a considerable part of the diocese was lutheran, the superintendent should be consecrated priest, and invested with rank and office; that the lutheran ministers should be consecrated priests; that provision should be made for their support; that such of their bishops and ministers as were married, might retain their wives, and that the consciences of those, who held possessions of the church, should be quieted, except in respect to hospitals, whose possessions he thought could not conscientiously be withheld from the poor objects of their foundations; and that every other arrangement should be

made by the church and state which would be agreeable to the feelings and prejudices of their new brethren.

Such were the advances made by Bossuet ; and much discussion on them took place between him and Leibniz. They continued ten years. They are very learned, and a scholar will read them with delight ; but, unfortunately, they rather retarded than promoted their object. The real business ended, when Molanus quitted the scene. We shall close this article, with the following extract from the last letter but one, written by Bossuet, on the subject. It is addressed to Leibniz, and bears date the 12th August, 1701, ten years after his first letter on it was written.

“ Among the divines of the Confession of Augs-
“ burgh, I always placed M. Molanus in the first
“ rank, as a man, whose learning, candour and mo-
“ deration made him one of the persons, the most
“ capable I have known, of advancing the NOBLE
“ PROJECT OF RE-UNION.—In a letter, which I wrote
“ to him some years ago, by the count Balati, I as-
“ sured him, that, if he could obtain the general
“ consent of his party, to what he calls his Private
“ Thoughts, *Cogitationes Privatae*, I promised my-
“ self, that, by joining to them the remarks which
“ I sent to him, on the Confession of Augsburgh,
“ and the other symbolic writings of the protestants,
“ the work of the re-union would be perfected, in
“ all its most difficult and most essential parts ; so

“ that well-disposed persons might, in a short time,
 “ bring it to a conclusion.” The passage is so im-
 portant, that it is proper to present it to the reader in
 Bossuet’s own words. “ Parmi les Théologiens de
 “ la Confession d’Ausbourg, j’ai toujours mis au
 “ premier rang, M. l’abbé de Lokkum, comme un
 “ homme, dont le sçavoir, la candeur, et la modéra-
 “ tion le rendoient un des plus capables, que je con-
 “ nusse, pour avancer CE BEAU DESSEIN. Cela est
 “ si véritable, que j’ai cru devoir assurer ce docte
 “ Abbé, dans la réponse que je lui fis, il y a déjà
 “ plusieurs années, par M. le Compte Balati, que
 “ s’il pouvoit faire passer ce qu’il appelle ses Pensées
 “ Particulières, *Cogitationes Privatæ*, à un con-
 “ sentement suffisant, je me promettois qu’en y
 “ joignant les remarques que je lui envoyois sur la
 “ Confession d’Ausbourg, et les autres écrits sym-
 “ boliques des Protestans, l’ouvrage de la Réunion
 “ seroit achevé dans ses parties les plus difficiles et
 “ les plus essentielles ; en sorte qu’il ne faudroit à
 “ des personnes bien disposées, que très peu de tems
 “ pour la conclure.”

This article is extracted from *Œuvres Posthumes de Bossuet*, 1 vol. ;—*Nouvelle édition des Œuvres de Bossuet*, 11 vols. ;—*Leibnizii Opera, studio Lud. Dutens*, 1 and 5 vol. ;—and the *Pensées de Leibniz*, 2 vols. 8vo.

Dom de Foris, the Benedictine editor of the new edition of the works of Bossuet, and the abbé Racine, *Abrégé de l’Histoire Ecclésiastique*,

Tom. 13, are very severe in their censures of the conduct of Leibniz in the negotiations for the re-union, and attribute its failure to his presumption and duplicity. To the writer of these pages, it appears clear, that Leibniz was sincere in his wishes for the re-union; and that, if he occasioned its failure, it was unintentionally. While the business was in the hands of Bossuet and Molanus, it was a treaty, not for the re-union of the roman-catholic church, and all protestant churches, but for the re-union of the roman-catholic church and the lutheran church; and to this, Molanus's endeavours to reconcile differences were directed. Leibniz, whose principles in religion were much wider than those of Molanus, seems to have wished that the negotiation should be placed on a broader basis, and extended to a re-union of the church of Rome, with every denomination of christians. This gave the negotiation a different direction, and in a great measure undid what had been so happily begun. We have seen that, to the very last, Bossuet called out for Molanus, and entertained great hopes, that, if the matter were left to Molanus and him, the noble project of re-union would be crowned with success. There is no part of Bossuet's literary or active life, in which he appears to greater advantage, or in a more amiable light, than on this occasion.

IV.

Attempts in the reign of Lewis the fifteenth, to effect an Union between the Church of Rome, and the Church of England.

OF all protestant churches, the national church of England most nearly resembles the church of Rome. It has retained much of the dogma, and much of the discipline of roman-catholics. Down to the subdeacon, it has preserved the whole of their hierarchy; and, like them, has its deans, rural deans, chapters, prebends, archdeacons, rectors, and vicars; a liturgy, taken in a great measure, from the roman-catholic liturgy; and composed like that of Psalms, Canticles, the three creeds, litanies, epistles, gospels, prayers, and responses. Both churches have the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, the absolution of the sick, the burial service, the sign of the cross in baptism, the reservation of confirmation and order to bishops, the difference of episcopal and sacerdotal dress, feasts, and fasts. Without adopting all the general councils of the church of Rome, the church of England has adopted the four first of them; and, without acknowledging the authority of the other councils, or the authority of the early fathers, the English divines of the established church allow them to be entitled to a high degree of respect. On the important article of the eucharist, the language of the thirty-nine articles

sounds very like the doctrine of the church of Rome.

At the time, of which we are speaking, the doctrines of the high church, which are generally considered to incline to those of the roman-catholics more than the doctrines of the low church, were in their zenith; and in France, where the ultramontane principles on the power of the pope had always been discountenanced, the disputes of jansenism were supposed to reduce it very low. On each side, therefore, the time was thought favourable to the project of the re-union.

It was also favourable to it, that, a few years before this time, an event had taken place, which naturally tended to put both parties into good humour.

On the occasion of the marriage of the princess Christina of Wolfenbuttell, a lutheran, with the archduke of Austria, her court consulted the faculty of theology of the university of Helmstadt, on the question, “Whether a protestant princess, destined “to marry a catholic prince, could, without wound-“ing her conscience, embrace the roman-catholic re-“ligion?” The faculty replied, that, “it could not “answer the proposed question, in a solid manner, “without having previously decided, whether the “catholics were or were not engaged in errors, that “were fundamental, and opposed to salvation; or, “(which was the same thing), whether the state of “the catholic church was such, that persons might “practise in it the true worship of God, and arrive at

“ salvation.” This question, the divines of Helmstadt discussed at length; and concluded in these terms: “ After having shown, that the foundation “ of religion subsists in the roman-catholic religion, “ so that a person may be orthodox in it, live well “ in it, die well in it, and obtain salvation in it, the “ discussion of the proposed question is easy. We “ are, therefore, of opinion, that the most serene “ princess of Wolfenbuttell may, in favour of her “ marriage, embrace the catholic religion.” This opinion is dated the 28th of April, 1707, and was printed in the same year at Cologne. The journalists of Trevoux inserted both the original and a French translation of it in their journal of May, 1708.

Under these circumstances the correspondence in question took place. It began in 1718, through Dr. Beauvoair, chaplain to lord Stair, his Britannic Majesty’s ambassador at Paris. Some conversation on the re-union of the two churches having taken place between Dr. Dupin and him, he acquainted the archbishop of Canterbury with the subject of them. This communication produced some compliments from the archbishop to Dr. Dupin, and these led the latter to address to his grace a letter, in which he mentioned generally, that, on some points in dispute, the supposed difference between the two communions was reconcileable. The correspondence getting wind, Dr. Piers pronounced a discourse in the Sorbonne, in which he earnestly

exhorted his colleagues to promote the re-union, by revising those articles of doctrine and discipline, which protestants branded with the name of papal tyranny ; and contended, that, by proscribing the ultramontane doctrines, the first step to the re-union would be made. The discourse was communicated to Dr. Wake : in his answer he pressed Dr. Dupin for a more explicit declaration on the leading points in controversy.

In compliance with this requisition, Dr. Dupin drew up his *Commonitorium*, and communicated it to several persons of distinction, both in the state and church of France. He discussed in it the thirty-nine articles, as they regarded doctrine, morality, and discipline. He insisted on the necessity of tradition, to interpret the Scriptures, and to establish the canonicity of the books of the Old and New Testament. He insisted on the infallibility of the church in faith and morals ; he contended that the sacrifice of the mass was not a simple sacrament, but a continuation of the sacrifice of the cross.

The word transubstantiation, he seemed willing to give up, if the roman-catholic doctrine, intended to be expressed by it, were retained. He proposed that communion under both kinds, or under bread alone, should be left to the discretion of the different churches, and consented that persons in holy orders should retain their state, with such provisions as would place the validity of their ordination beyond

exception. The marriage of priests in the countries, in which such marriages were allowed, and the recitation of the divine service in the vulgar tongue, he allowed ; and intimated that no difficulty would be found in the ultimate settlement of the doctrine respecting purgatory, indulgences, the veneration of saints, relics or images. He seems to have thought that the pope can exercise no immediate jurisdiction within the dioceses of bishops, and that his primacy invested him with no more, than a general conservation of the deposit of the faith, a right to enforce the observance of the sacred canons, and the general maintenance of discipline. He allowed, in general terms, that there was little substantially wrong in the discipline of the church of England ; he deprecated all discussion on the original merit of the Reformation, and professed to see no use in the pope's intervention, till the basis of the negociation should be settled.

The answer of the archbishop was not very explicit. It is evident from it, that it was thought in England, that the quarrels on jansenism had alienated the jansenists and their adherents from the pope, much more than they had done in reality. He was willing to concede to the pope a primacy of rank and honour, but would by no means allow him a primacy of jurisdiction, or any primacy by divine right. On the other points, he seemed to have thought that they might come to an agreement, on what they should declare to be the fundamental

doctrine of the churches, and adopt, on every other point of doctrine, a general system of christian toleration.

The correspondence, which is very interesting, may be seen in the last volume of the English translation of Dr. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History. To facilitate the accomplishment of the object of it, Dr. Courayer published his celebrated treatise on *the Validity of English Ordinations*.

Both Dr. Wake and Dr. Dupin were censured by the members of their respective communions, for the parts which they had taken in this business. Several rigid members of the English church, and even some foreign protestants, blamed Dr. Wake, for what they termed his too great concessions. In France, the worst of motives were imputed to Dr. Dupin and his associates ; they were accused of making unjustifiable sacrifices in order to form an union between the jansenists and the members of the English church. Even the regent took the alarm : he ordered Dr. Dupin to discontinue the correspondence, and to leave all the papers respecting it with the minister. This was done, but the most important of them have been printed in the interesting and extensively circulated publication, which has been mentioned.

V.

Miscellaneous Remarks on the Re-union of Christians.

IT does not appear that, subsequently to the communications between archbishop Wake and Dr. Dupin, any attempts for a general or partial re-union of christians were made in the last century: but, early, in the present, *Buonaparte* conceived the project of effecting such a re-union. He is said to have particularly had in view the catholicizing, as it was termed, of the northern part of Germany. To forward his design, many works were published: one of them the essay *sur l'Unité des Cultes* of M. Bonald, is written with great ingenuity. That essay, and several others by the same author, are inserted in the *Ambigu* of Peltier, and deserve the attention of every reader. Though they contain some things, to which a roman-catholic writer would object, they are evidently written by a roman-catholic pen.

The first point to be considered by those, who meditate the project of re-union, is its practicability—those, who are disposed to contend for the affirmative, will observe the number of important articles of christian faith, in which all christians are agreed, and the proportionally small number of those, in which any christians disagree.

All christians believe, 1st. That there is one God; 2d. That he is a being of infinite perfection;

3d. That he directs all things by his providence; 4th. That it is our duty to love him with all our hearts, and our neighbour as ourselves; 5th. That it is our duty to repent of the sins we commit; 6th. That God pardons the truly penitent; 7th. That there is a future state of rewards and punishments, when all mankind shall be judged according to their works; 8th. That God sent his Son into the world to be its Saviour, the author of eternal salvation to all who obey him; 9th. That he is the true Messiah; 10th. That he taught, worked miracles, suffered, died, and rose again, as is related in the four gospels; 11th. That he will hereafter make a second appearance on the earth, raise all mankind from the dead, judge the world in righteousness, bestow eternal life on the virtuous, and punish the workers of iniquity.

In the belief of these articles, all christians,—roman-catholics, lutherans, calvinists, socinians, and unitarians, are agreed. In addition to these, each division and subdivision of christians has its own tenets. Now, let each settle among its own members, what are the articles of belief peculiar to them, which, in their cool deliberate judgment, they consider as *absolutely necessary* that a person should believe, to be a member of the church of Christ:—let these articles be divested of all foreign matter, and expressed in perspicuous, exact, and unequivocal terms;—and, above all, let each distinction of christians earnestly wish to find an

agreement between themselves and their fellow-christians :—the result of a discussion, conducted on this plan, would most assuredly be, to convince all christians that the essential articles of religious credence, in which there is a real difference among christians, are not so numerous as the verbal disputes and extraneous matter, in which controversy is too often involved, make them generally thought.

Still,—some articles will remain, the belief of which one denomination of christians will consider to be the obligation of every christian, and which other christian denominations will condemn. On some of those, *a speedy* re-union of christians is not to be expected: but, to use the language of *Mr. Vansittart*, in his excellent letter to the bishop of Landaff, and John Coker, esq. “There is an inferior “ degree of re-union, more within our prospect, “ and yet, perhaps, as perfect as human infirmity “ allows us to hope for; wherein, though all dif-“ ferences of opinions should not be extinguished, “ yet they may be refined from all party prejudices “ and interested views, so softened by the spirit of “ charity and mutual concession, and so controlled “ by agreement on the leading principles and zeal “ for the general interests of Christianity, that “ no sect or persuasion should be tempted to make “ religion subservient to secular views, or to employ “ political power to the prejudice of others.—The “ existence of dissent will, perhaps, be inseparable

“ from religious freedom, so long as the mind of
“ man is liable to error: but, it is not unreasonable
“ to hope, that hostility may cease, though perfect
“ agreement cannot be established. IF WE CANNOT
“ RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US RECONCILE
“ ALL HEARTS.”

These pages cannot be closed better than by
these golden words.

ESSAY V.

Being

*The INAUGURAL ORATION, spoken on the 4th day
of November 1815, at the ceremony of laying
the first stone of the LONDON INSTITUTION,
for the diffusion of Science and Literature; with
an Introduction.*

INTRODUCTION.

IT was the wish of the person, who spoke the Oration, at THE CEREMONY OF LAYING THE FIRST STONE OF THE LONDON INSTITUTION, FOR THE DIFFUSION OF SCIENCE AND LITERATURE, to prefix to this publication of it, a succinct Historical Account of Commerce, from the Macedonian Conquest to the present time; and to shew the constant exchange of services, between Commerce and Literature, during this period. The present accomplishment of this design, being incompatible with his professional duties, he begs leave to supply it, in a very limited degree, by the following Extracts, principally taken, from his Work entitled,

“ *A Succinct History of the Geographical and Political Revolutions of the Empire of Germany, or the Principal States which composed the Empire of Charlemagne, from his Coronation in 800, to its Dissolution in 1806, with some account of the Genealogies of the Imperial House of Hapsburgh, and of the Six Secular Electors of Germany; and of Roman, German, French and English Nobility,*” —1 Vol. 8vo.

These Extracts may be found to give a Short View of the Commercial Intercourse between Europe and Asia, from the death of Alexander the Great till the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet the second: 2dly, Of the Commercial History of Venice; 3dly, Genoa; 4thly, The Lombards; 5thly, Florence; 6thly, The Hanse-towns; and 7thly, The Netherlands.

I.

THE greatest Commercial project, ever planned, was the design of Alexander the Great, to effect a regular mercantile intercourse between the eastern and western divisions of the then known parts of the world, and to fix its northern emporium near the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges, and its southern at Alexandria. After the death of that monarch, Seleucus made himself master of the Persian Empire, and Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, secured Egypt. Under each, the commerce with the east was so successfully pursued, that even with China, a considerable trade was carried on, both

by land and sea. The principal article of it was Silk.

On land, this commerce was managed by caravans: some took a northern, others, a southern route. The former passed through the Great Desert, Kashigar, Samarcand, and the northern limits of Persia, into Syria, where they were met by the Merchants of Europe. The whole journey took up 243 days; but a great proportion of the commodity was purchased, on its passage, by the Merchants of Nisibis and Armenia. The southern route led the caravans, through the mountains of Thibet, to the Merchants of Europe, who met them in the Guzzerat.

The trade by sea was carried on in ships, which sailed from the Eastern ports of China, to Malacca and Achem, the Promontory of Sumatra; and, sometimes to Ceylon, the Taprobané of the Antients. There, they were met by the mercantile fleets, which sailed from the Persian Gulph and the adjacent countries; and these transmitted the freights through the western parts of Asia, to the Ports of Europe.

In the reign of the emperor Justinian, Silk worms were introduced into Europe.

This was not the only instance of his attention to Commerce. A general encouragement of it was one of the few laudable parts of his character; and the same remark may be applied to several of his successors. The effects of Commerce in civilizing and enriching a nation, are perhaps no where so

discernible, as in this period of the history of the Byzantine emperors. Many of their fairest provinces were wrested from them, and almost all were ravaged by the barbarians. The government was uniformly feeble and oppressive, its ministers uniformly ignorant and cruel, and the country continually divided into factions. Still, a considerable degree of commerce remained in her; and in consequence of it, so much of Art, of Science and of Literature was preserved at Constantinople, as gave it an air of elegance and even of magnificence. This astonished the crusaders. "O what a vast City," says one of their historians, as he is translated by Dr. Robertson, (Hist. of Charles the fifth, vol. i. note xiv.), "is Constantinople, and how beautiful! " How many Monasteries are there in it, and how many Palaces, built with wonderful art! How many Manufactories are there in the City, amazing to behold! It would be astonishing to relate how it abounds with all good things, with gold, silver, and stuffs of various kind: for, every hour, ships arrive in it's port, laden with all things necessary for the use of man." "The Crusaders" says another historian, as he also is translated by the same author, "could not have believed that there was a city so beautiful and so rich in the whole world: When they viewed its high walls, its lofty towers, its rich palaces, its superb churches, all appeared so great, that they could have formed no conception of this sovereign city,

“ unless they had seen it with their own eyes.”—Such were the salutary effects of commerce, even in a falling empire, and under a vicious and oppressive government.

II.

The wealth and elegance, which Commerce thus introduced into Constantinople, were diffused over the adjacent provinces, and even reached her Italian territories.—But, from another cause, a state was now forming on the northernmost shores of the Adriatic ; the wisdom and activity of whose government were soon to place her at the head of European commerce.

The *Veneti* of the Romans, occupied a territory which stretched from the Addua on the west, to the confines of Pannonia on the east,—the space between the Rhaetian and Julian Alps, and the Po. *Modern Venice* owes its origin to the invasion of Attila in 457, which drove several families of Aquileia, Padua and the adjacent country, into a cluster of numerous islands, which lie in the extremity of the Adriatic Gulph, and are separated by shallow waters from the continent. Insensibly, something of a federal union was established among them ; and in the twelve principal islands, twelve judges were annually elected. These in 697, were superseded by a chief, called a Duke or Doge, who was chosen for life, and enjoyed sovereign power. He was elected by a general assembly of the people.

At first, all the public concerns of the republic were subject to the controul of that assembly. In 1172, a great council was established, which insensibly drew to it the whole administration of affairs. It was chosen out of the body of the people, by twelve tribunes, elected for that purpose at a general meeting. In 1298, the council was made hereditary. A conspiracy in 1310, to restore the antient form of government, gave rise to an appointment of twelve commissioners to discover its secret accomplices. That appointment, under the appellation of the *Council of Ten*, was, soon after, made permanent. In this form, till the late revolution, the government of Venice continued. It was a pure and severe aristocracy:—the council was omnipotent, the doge, almost a pageant, the people, quite a cipher.

About the beginning of the eleventh century, Venice became generally known in Europe, by her extensive and lucrative trade with the sovereign princes and states of Italy, Germany, Greece and Egypt. From a merchant, she became, like our own East India Company, a conqueror: by degrees, she turned her factories into fortresses, and, by conquest or treaty, made herself mistress of many towns and ports of Dalmatia, Albania, and the Morea, and of the islands of Candia, Corfū and Cephalonia, in the Archipelago.

Having taken a leading part in the famous League of Lombardy, in support of pope Alexander the

third, his holiness, in testimony of his gratitude to her, conferred on her the Seignory of the Adriatic sea. This gave rise to the singular and splendid ceremony of the Doge's marrying the Sea, on the Feast of the Ascension, by throwing into it, his ring, as a symbol of their Espousal.

With equal success, but perhaps without equal wisdom, Venice afterwards extended her conquests over a considerable part of the adjoining continent of Italy. They often proved to her a source of dispute and war, and drained her of the wealth which she received from the sea.

Of the wealth and magnificence of Venice, during the reign of her prosperity, the following account is given by the elegant and nervous pen of Dr. Robertson, (*Historical Disquisitions concerning Antient India*, p. 130). “ The revenues “ of the republic, as well as the wealth amassed by “ individuals, exceeded whatever was elsewhere “ known. In the magnificence of their houses, “ the richness of furniture, in profusion of plate, “ and in every thing which contributed either to- “ wards elegance or parade in their mode of living, “ —the nobles of Venice surpassed the state of the “ greatest monarch beyond the Alps.—Nor was “ all this the display of an inconsiderate dissipation, “ it was the natural consequence of successful in- “ dustry, which, having accumulated wealth with “ ease, is entitled to enjoy it in splendor.” About the year 1420, (Ib. Note 50), “ the naval force of

“ the republic consisted of 3,000 trading vessels
 “ of various dimensions, on board of which were
 “ employed 17,000 sailors: of 300 ships of greater
 “ force, manned with 8,000 sailors: and of 45
 “ large galleasses or carracks, navigated by 11,000
 “ sailors. In public and private arsenals, 16,000
 “ carpenters were employed.”

It was during this height of her glory, that Sannazar addressed to her the celebrated verses,—

“ Viderat Hadriacis Venetam Neptunus in undis
 “ Stare Urbem, et toto ponere jura Mari:
 “ Nunc mihi Tarpeias, quantum vis, Jupiter, arces
 “ Objice, et illa tui mænia Martis, ait:
 “ Si Pelago Tiberim præfers,—Urbem aspice utramque:
 “ Illam homines dices, hanc posuisse Deum.”

With a liberality equally honourable to the poet and the patrons, the Senate of Venice presented the poet with one hundred Crowns of Gold for every verse.

To this splendid state of prosperity, the new system of commerce, introduced into Europe, in consequence of the discovery of America, and the opening of a direct course of navigation to the East Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope were fatal. From that time, Venice declined; but, though shorn of her beams, she preserved a dignified independence, and some rays of her antient glory played round her, till the treaty of Campo Formio consigned her to Austria.

It is observable that the two first classes of the

nobility of this Commercial Island, produce a pedigree, supported by certain and positive evidence, of more remote antiquity, than any sovereign, or any private family. The certain Pedigrees of the Houses of Guelph, Savoy, Lorraine, Hohenzollern and Baden reach no higher, than the eleventh century; the pedigree of the House of Capet, equally certain, and more remarkable, as it uniformly consists of males through males, without a single female descent, extends to the ninth. But the first class of the Venetian nobles is of a much higher date. It is composed of the Contarini, Morosini, Gradenigi, Baduari, Tripoli, Micheli, Sanudi, Memmi, Falieri, Dandoli, Polani and Barrozi,—twelve families, that lineally descend from the twelve tribunes, who elected the first Doge, in 697;—and of four other families,—the Justiniani, Cornari, Bragadini and Beinbi, who signed, with the former, the act of foundation of the great church of St. George Major, in the year 800.

III.

The *Genoese* imitated, and, at one time, rivalled the Venetians in trade and conquest. They established factories at Caffa, in the Tauric Chersonesus: at Asoph, on the mouth of the Don; at Smyrna, and in the suburbs of Constantinople. They conquered the islands of Scio, Mitelené and Tenedos: the kings of Cyprus were tributary to

them: and they reached the East Indies, before the Venetians.

It would have been fortunate for the happiness and prosperity of Venice and Genoa, if a spirit of rivalship had not been carried on between them too far: and the former had confined her enterprises in the Mediterranean to its eastern, and the latter to its western coasts. But in 1376, they broke out into open war: At first, the Genoese were successful, and once threatened Venice with total destruction: but, the superior wisdom and firmness of the Venetians prevailed; and, at the sea fight at Chiozza, gave the Genoese, a total overthrow. The Venetians acquired by it, the complete command of the Adriatic, the Archipelago, and almost the whole of the Mediterranean. From that time, Genoa dates her decline. The politics of the Genoese have always fluctuated:—with some intervals of rational liberty, under the forms of her old constitution, Genoa, in general, has been, either in a state of anarchy, or subject to the dukes of Milan, the kings of France, or the marquises of Montferrat. Her misfortunes have been equally owing to the turbulent disposition of the people, and the contentions of her great families, the Dorias, Spinolas, Grimaldi, Fiesqui, Adorni, and Fregosi.

IV.

By the defeat of the Genoese, the manufacture of Silk, and the import trade from the Indies and Arabia, became fixed at Venice. From Venice, the *Lombards* became the carriers of it into the Northern markets of Europe. Many privileges and exemptions were granted to them by the Sovereigns of the North; and in consequence of their carrying trade, they became masters of the coin in Europe. Letters of Exchange were first used by the Jews to guard their property from the vexations, by which they were continually harassed. The Lombards improved upon them, and established the Banking system. For a long time, it was engrossed by them and the Venetians. In 1246, Pope Innocent the fourth deposited at Venice 25,000 marks of Silver, to be remitted to the merchants of Frankfort, to be paid over by them to the anti-emperor, Henry of Raspo. In 1307, our Edward the first, granted leave to the Pope's Nuncio, to draw, by Letters of Exchange, the money which the see of Rome received from England. (*Rymer, T. 1. p. 4. p. 69*).

V.

Florence was included in the celebrated donation of the countess Mecthildis to the popes. The

validity of this donation was contested by the emperors, and Florence submitted to them. But, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, she threw off their yoke in consequence of the tyranny of Frederick the second. For a century after that event, she was prosperous and happy, under twelve magistrates, chosen out of the general body of the people, and called Antients. Dissentions then arose among the citizens, which ended in the usurpation of the Medici. From that time, the history of Florence is familiar to every reader. The Florentines conquered many cities in Tuscany, and finally annexed Pisa, already weakened by the Genoese, to their territory. They traded extensively, in the East, and carried on a considerable inland commerce: but the commerce of Florence, like that of Venice, was ruined by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope.

It is observable that no mercantile family has attained so high a degree of elevation, as the House of Medici. They became sovereigns of Florence; many of them married into royal families, and by females, the present House of Bourbon and other monarchal families descend from them.

VI.

The *Hanse-towns*, were originally a confederacy of Towns, which, in the thirteenth century, united in alliance for the mutual support and encouragement of their commerce. The confederacy was first set on foot by the city of Brēmen, and other seaport towns in Livonia. The advantages, which they derived from the confederacy, attracted to it other trading towns. At one time, the confederacy reckoned eighty: they were divided into four classes: the Vandalic, over which Lubec presided, comprised the towns on the Baltic, between Hamburgh and Pomerania: the Rhenanan, over which Cologne presided, comprised the towns on the Rhine: the Saxon, over which Brunswick presided, comprised the towns in Saxony and Westphalia: the Prussian, over which Dantzick presided, contained the towns of Prussia and Livonia.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century, Lubec was considered as the head of the Hanseatic towns: the archives of the confederacy were kept, and its general assemblies were held in that town.

The League possessed factories and warehouses at Bruges, for their trade with Flanders; at London, for their trade with England; at Novogorod, for their trade with Russia; and at Bergen, for their trade with Norway.

Originally, the only objects of the Hanseatic confederacy were to secure their commerce against pirates and plunderers, and to extend it by peaceable and friendly communications. They conveyed to the southern parts of Europe, the flax, hemp, timber for shipping, skins, leather, and other commodities of its northern growth ; and returned to the north, laden with fruits, wines, drugs, silks, and other commodities of its southern growth. In the course of time, they rose to such a degree of power, as to engage in treaties with sovereigns, and even to carry on offensive and defensive wars. This raised general jealousy ; and the kings of France, Spain and Denmark, and several states of Italy, forbade their towns to continue members of the confederacy. Upon this, the Teutonic Hanse-towns restricted the confederacy to Germany, and distributed it under four metropolitan towns, Lubec, Cologne, Brunswick and Dantzick. Brunswick and Cologne afterwards separated from them ; several towns followed their example ; so that, about the middle of the seventeenth century, the confederacy was almost wholly confined to the towns of Hamburgh, Lubec and Bremen. They retained the appellation of Hanseatic towns, and claimed their former privileges. Under the appellation of Hanse-towns they were recognized at the peace of Utrecht in 1715, and, at the Definitive Treaty of Indemnity in 1805 ;—almost the last moment of their political existence.



VII.

The Hanse-towns were robbed of a considerable portion of their trade by *the Netherlands*. For centuries, these enjoyed, almost exclusively, the commerce of cloth, cotton, camlets and tapestry. In exchange, they received raw wool from England ; silk, spices, and the other production of the Levant, from the Italians. The wealth and splendour of the commercial towns in that country in the æra of their prosperity, placed the Dukes of Burgundy, their sovereigns, on a level with the greatest monarchs, and enabled their principal merchants to display such magnificence in their dress, their buildings, and their mode of living, as excited the envy of the noblest princes of Europe. Bruges was their capital :—In 1310, it contained sixty-eight companies of traders and artificers ; insurances and letters of 'change were in common use.

Dr. Robertson (in his *Historical Disquisitions*, p. 239), mentions, that, in the year 1301, Joanna of Navarre, the wife of Philip the fair, king of France, having been some days in Bruges, was so much struck with its grandeur and wealth, and particularly with the splendid appearance of the citizens wives, that she was moved by female envy to exclaim with indignation, “ I thought that I had “ been the only queen here, but I find that there “ are many hundreds more.” Few persons have seen, without surprise, the long and splendid line

of towns between Ostend and Liege. When we consider, that they have survived their commerce for more than two hundred years, we may form some notion of the general populousness and magnificence of the territory and its inhabitants in the day of their prosperity.

In consequence of a dispute with the emperor Maximilian, Bruges was deprived of a considerable part of its trade, and from that time, the city of Antwerp took the lead in commerce ; but taxes and imprudent regulations insensibly undermined the general trade of the Netherlands ; and the wise policy of Edward the third attracted almost the whole of its woollen trade to England.

This leads to the commercial history of England, a subject familiar to all our readers, and naturally closes this introductory attempt.

*Foundation of the COLLEGE of the
LONDON INSTITUTION:*

1815.

ON the fourth of last November, the interesting ceremony of laying the first Stone of this learned Institution took place, on a part of a spacious piece of ground in Moorfields, which had been purchased

for it, of the City. The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, some of the Aldermen, Lord Carrington, President of the Institution, George Hibbert, esq., the late President, the Vice-Presidents, Managers, Secretary, Visitors, Stewards, and other Office-bearers, a very numerous body of Proprietors, the Chamberlain of the City, Masters and Wardens of various Companies, the Committee of Trustees for Gresham College, and the heads of the Public Schools of the City, together with other gentlemen of the first distinction, met at the City of London Tavern at half past two o'clock ; and, as soon as they were duly arranged, went in procession, preceded by a band of music, and accompanied by the ringing of bells, through Cornhill, Cheapside, Old Jewry, Coleman-street, and Fore-street, to Moorfields.

The procession commenced at three o'clock, and reached the ground about three quarters of an hour afterwards.

The ceremony was opened by Sir William Blizard, one of the Vice-Presidents, who, having previously enquired of Mr. Brooks, the Architect, informed the President, that every thing was ready. The Secretary then delivered to the President a vellum scroll, with an Inscription in Latin, containing a brief account of the origin and object of the Institution, and the names of the Dignitaries, and Board of Management, under whose auspices and superintendence, the plan has been accomplished.

At the desire of the President the Inscription was read by the Rev. John Russell, M. A. Master of the Charter-house School, by whom it was composed:—it is expressed as follows:

LAPIS. AVSPICATVS
AB. HONORATISS. SAM. BIRCH. PRAET. VRB.

SOLLEMNI. CVM. ORATIONE

CAROLI. BVTLER. JVR. CONSULT. S. A. S.

CONJECTVS. IN. FVNDAMENTA. AEDIVM

QVAS. COLLEGIVM. LONDINENSIVM

CVI. NOMEN. SANCITVM. LEGE

LONDON, INSTITVTION

LITERARVM. ERGO. ET. BONARVM. ARTIVM

ET. CONPARATIONIS. LIBRORVM

GEORGII. III. REG. CELSISS. AVCTORITATE. INSTITVTVM

ANN. SACRO. MDCCCVII

SIBI. SVISQVE. PROVIDIT

NON. NOV. ANN. SACRO. MDCCCV

CVRANTIBVS

HONORATISS. DOM. DOM. ROB. BAR. CARRINGTON. DE. VPPINGHAM
S. R. S. PRAES.

GVL. BLIZARD. EQ. AVR. S. R. ET. A. S. PROP. G. SMITH. M. P. PROP.

GVL. MANNING. M. P. PROP. ROB. WIGRAM. BARONET. PROP.

GVL. ALLEN. S. R. S. I. M. GOOD. S. R. S. I. RVSSELL. CLER. A. I.

GVL. COTTON. I. GVRNEY. JVR. CONS. I. T. RVTT

CAR. ELLIOT. GVL. HATHAWAY. H. SMITH

B. FAYLE. GVL. HEYGATE. ALD. I. THORNTON

T. F. FORSTER. S. L. S. E. LITTLEDALE. GVL. VAVGHAN

IAC. GVL. FRESHFIELD. GVL. NORRIS. I. YELLOLY. M. D. S. R.

IS. L. GOLDSMID. T. REID. ET. ROB. STEVENS. S. L. S. A. SE

GVL. MALTBY. A. BIBLIOTHECA. GVL. BROOKS. ARCHITECTO.

The scroll, with various gold and silver coins, and specimens of the best medals of the present times, were then put into a strong glass bottle, and deposited in a cavity prepared in the stone, which

was afterwards covered with a brass plate on which a copy of the same inscription is engraven. A range of hustings, prepared for the occasion, was crowded by an assemblage of Ladies.

The Noble President requested the Lord Mayor to lay the first stone ; who assented, and addressed the Spectators in the following words :

“ Called upon, as I am, to the very honourable and important office of laying the first stone of an Edifice, which is intended to be the Repository of Literature and Science, I cannot be insensible to the high distinction thus conferred upon me by his Lordship ; nor can I be silent on such a subject, during such a ceremony. To dilate minutely in detail on all the advantages and benefits which may be derived from the great work in which we are now engaged, is not suited either to the time or place :—That will be the interesting business of a learned Professor, on our return. It is in my province, however, to say a word or two generally on the subject. It is gratifying to reflect, that we live in an age, which has projected and thus begun the glorious work of introducing Science and Literature into this Emporium of the World ;—that the various sources of knowledge and mental acquirement will here be opened for the instruction and relaxation of the youth of this great City ;—that they will here be invited to the Contemplation of the interesting Laws of Nature and Providence ;—

of the Animal, Mineral, and Vegetable World ;—of Chemistry, Mathematics, Mechanics, and Optics ; to every range of Classical Erudition,—in short, to the acquirement of every information, which can accomplish the Scholar, adorn the mind, or regulate the passions ! These surely are considerations of great and vital importance.—That objections have been raised against the introduction of this sort of education into a commercial city, as befitting only the seats of learning and the academic grove, cannot be denied ; but, it is now too late to listen to such objections. To contend for the extension of intellectual acquirement is now unnecessary. The world has proved its conviction of this point, by the part every where taken in pouring instruction into the infant mind, wherever and as far as it is capable of receiving it. I would therefore ask, can any stronger symptom of barbarism be produced, than the opinion that men are disqualified by Genius and Literature for employments which imply the direction and benefit of other men ? The productive power of man is his invention, not his strength ; and it is from the glorious and incessant conflict of intellect, that the best and noblest monuments of Genius are produced. Paterculus has well said, “ *Aliit æmulatio Ingenia.* ” The work now commenced will therefore be devoutly looked to for the happiest results in the progress of Literature and Science, for the benefit of this great commercial city. May then our great City of London henceforth

cherish those things! May her Mural Crown, now only designating Protection, Dominion, and Strength, be enriched by Science, decked with her gems of intellectual light! May her happy shores be the acknowledged abode of the Muses, as they are of the Graces! May Commerce and Literature be the twin offspring of her care, nursed as it were in one cradle, trained together in the same pursuits, entwined in friendship, and uniting their strength for the glory of the Empire, the stability of the Throne, the perpetuity of our glorious Constitution, and the prosperity of the People! And may the blessing of Almighty God rest upon the work, that in future times, when all of us shall be mute, and most of us forgotten, this Edifice may be the glory of our children's children, and the lasting union of Commerce and Literature in this City, be the happy means of making her Merchants, in their education and in their success, Princes, and her Traffickers the truly honourable of the earth.”

The Lord Mayor then took the silver trowel that was prepared for him, and proceeded to the masonic labour of laying the Stone.

After the completion of this part of the ceremony, the procession returned through an innumerable crowd, that had collected on the occasion, to the City of London Tavern, to hear the Inaugural Address. The spacious and elegant room of the Tavern was brilliantly lighted up and prepared for

the occasion, and was already thronged with genteel company of both sexes. The Lord Mayor, the Noble President, Sheriffs, &c. and the various Officers of the Institution, having taken their seats, the Address was delivered by CHARLES BUTLER, esq. Barrister at Law, the standing Counsel to the Establishment.

THE INAUGURAL ORATION.

MY LORD MAYOR,

MY LORD CARRINGTON, President of the
LONDON INSTITUTION,

and GENTLEMEN,

Every person, who heard the eloquent and dignified address of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, on his placing the *First Stone of the London Institution*, must join me in regretting that, to his many other attentions to the Institution, His Lordship does not add that, of addressing you, on your return from the Interesting Ceremony. This, the Managers of the Institution have desired of me; and, in obedience to their wishes, I now request

your attention to a few words, which I shall offer to your consideration, on the *Advantages, which Science and Commerce derive from each other*. But I beg leave to premise what I shall say upon it, by a short account of the Formation of the Institution, and the Views of those, with whom the design of it originated.

I.

About ten years ago, some Gentlemen of high rank in commerce, and distinguished by their enlarged and cultivated understandings, projected the Institution, on whose account, You have this day been convened. Considering the mercantile eminence of their country ; persuaded that, whatever increases the splendor, increases equally the strength and activity of commerce, and contemplating the example of almost every other European nation, they thought it due to the dignity and glory of the Empire, that her Commercial Metropolis should be graced by a *Literary and Scientific Institution*, on a liberal and extensive plan. They judged, that such an Establishment *would bring Science and Commerce into contact, and that, by their approximation, each would draw forth and invigorate whatever there might be of latent energy or power in the other.*

Under this impression, they submitted their views to the consideration of their fellow citizens, and solicited the co-operation of their munificence. The

design was universally approved ; and a subscription of about 70,000*l.* immediately raised, within the walls of the City of London, and her Commercial Environs. The portion of land, which has just been honoured with your presence, was purchased from the Corporation of London, with the view of erecting upon it a building, suited to the purposes of the Institution. I am authorised to add, that the Gentlemen, who treated with the Corporation for the purchase of it, speak, in high terms, of the liberality of their proceedings.

Presuming on this liberality, and addressing myself to it, may I, an unauthorised individual, intimate an humble wish—(but a wish generally entertained), —that some arrangement may be made with the Corporation of the City of London, by which the Gresham Lectures, shall be attached to the London Institution ? and, in conformity to Sir Thomas Gresham's wise and beneficent intentions, thus made really and actively conducive to the general diffusion of Science and Literature. This must be the wish of every one, to whom these are dear ; or who reverences the memory of the venerable founder of the Lectures ; or who feels the respect always due to the ashes, which still speak, of the illustrious dead.

II.

That *the Union of Science and Commerce* produces public and individual happiness, and elevates, in the rank of nations, the countries that are blessed with them, would, if it required proof, be better shewn by history than argument.

The spacious provinces, which now compose the Ottoman Empire, were once the seat of Science and Commerce. Then, they were dignified by wisdom and valour ; and, for a long time, were the fairest portion of the Christian world. Of their Science and Commerce they were deprived by their invaders ; and, in consequence of it, sunk into a state of abject misery, which no tongue can adequately describe :—Large territories dispeopled, goodly cities made desolate, sumptuous buildings become ruins, glorious temples subverted or prostituted, true religion discountenanced and oppressed, all nobility extinguished, violence and rapine exulting over all, and leaving no security, except to abject minds and unlooked on poverty *. Such is the state of a country, which hath lost her Commerce and Science. Would you behold a country in the full possession of them ?—Contemplate your own :—the number and magnificence of her cities, the high state of her agriculture, the activity of her manufactures, the easy intercourse between all parts of the nation ; her grand foundations, both for

* See Sir George Sandys' Account of the Ottoman Empire.

learning and charity, the graceful dignity and conciliating ease of high life, the countless decencies of the middle ranks, the cheerful industry of the lowest, the general veneration for the Constitution, the general obedience to Law, the general devotion to their Country.—Such is England! If it be enquired by what means she hath attained this height of glory and prosperity, much, it must be answered, is owing to that happy union of Science and Commerce, for which, in every part of her history, she has been eminently distinguished.

III.

Now, Science and Commerce are mutually dependent: Each assists the other, and each receives from the other, a liberal return.

That *the commercial successes of a nation tend directly to promote Literature, the Sciences, and the Arts*, admits of no doubt. On this part of my subject, I shall do little more than appeal to your own observations.

In the course of last summer, many of you have visited the scene of the most glorious and eventful battle that modern history has to record. I request them to recollect the long line of magnificent towns in Belgium, through which they passed, in their road to that memorable spot, or on their return; the many public edifices of exquisite and costly architecture, which they observed in them, and the

numberless paintings and works in marble, gold, silver, iron, and bronze, with which these abound.— I beg them to recollect, that, during two hundred years, all these cities have been in a state of decline. They may then judge what they were in the day of their prosperity. Now, every thing which I have mentioned, was raised or collected by the fostering hand of Commerce. For, till the imprudent conduct of the dukes of Burgundy and the House of Austria drove Commerce to Amsterdam, the Netherlands were her favourite seat, and all these monuments of Art and Science owe their existence to the commercial acquisitions and well directed munificence of the Burghers of Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, Bruxelles, and Louvaine. The Architecture, Painting and Sculpture, which adorn the cities between the Alps and Upper Italy, equally owe their existence to the Burghers of Lombardy. Had it not been for her Commerce, Venice would never have had the School of Painting, for which she is so illustrious. Had not the family of the Medici, afterwards allied to so many royal houses, and the parent of so many Sovereign Princes, been successful merchants, half, perhaps, of the precious remains of antiquity, which we now possess, would not have reached us. A single ship, freighted with spices, brought to Lorenzo di Medici, from the East and Greece, two hundred manuscripts, eighty of them, of works, at that time, unknown in Europe. Nor should we forget the Merchant-Kings, to whom,

as the best managers of it for the public, the British Nation confides her East Indian Commerce. It would be difficult to point out a period, during which, more valuable communications have been made to the learned world, than that, which has elapsed since the Institution, for enquiring into the Antiquities of the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia, was established in Bengal. Far be it from us to deny or undervalue the obligations, which Learning and Science owe to the Monarchs of the earth, or to the ranks which immediately approach them. To these, much, very much do Learning and Science owe: but, were they not themselves continually enriched by the commercial part of the community, scanty indeed would be their means of remunerating or encouraging the possessors of either.

IV.

On the other hand, *Science has ever been ancillary to Commerce.* Not a step can Commerce safely take, either in her most simple or her most complex operations, unless the Sciences of Number and Measure attend her. Nor, should it be forgotten, that many even of those rules,

“ Which boys can read, and girls can understand,”

POPE.

are the result of the most profound and laborious investigation; and that the midnight lamp has, over and over again, been lighted to the scientific men, by whom they were discovered.

To Navigation,—Commerce almost wholly owes her existence. From the felling of the tree to the launch of the ship, and from the launch of the ship to her arrival in port, every thing now appears to be reduced to rule ; and the rules appear so simple in their theory, and so easy in their application, that they seem to be carried into effect by a kind of instinctive readiness, and a process, almost mechanical. But, to form these rules, apparently so simple and so easy, the minds of scientific men had been employed for ages, on the most extensive and abstruse researches. It is literally true that, in the circles of Art or Science, there is scarcely one, which has not been pressed into the service of the ship-builder or the mariner. In those lines of Trade or Commerce, which are employed on the metallic productions, or in forming or compounding colours, there scarcely is a process, which the workman does not owe to chemistry ; and which, it did not cost the chemist, the toil of years to discover. When the drainer of a marsh uses his Spiral Pump, he avails himself of a process, the discovery of which was thought to do honour to one of the most renowned of the antient Mathematicians. When the land surveyor measures a field, he does it by rules laid down in a small Greek volume, which appeared 240 years before Christ. To come to our own country, and nearer to our own time, the Steam Engine, now applied to so many useful purposes, and every day discovering new powers, was one of

the inventions, which, in the reign of Charles the first, employed the learned leisure of the marquis of Worcester. To the divine mind of sir Isaac Newton, we principally owe the Quadrant, which, with Hadley's name, is now in the hands of every mariner.

But, to prove the general utility of Science to Commerce, it is unnecessary to travel back to the antient history of other countries, or the former history of our own. At the instant I am speaking, Science is advancing towards us with an invention, which, to the latest posterity, will prove incalculably beneficial to humanity in general, and to Commerce in particular. You have frequently read in your newspapers of the horrid effects of the explosion of a mine. A very recent newspaper has given an account of such a disaster. Now,—within these few weeks, one of those men,—the *homines centenarii*, as they were called by Scaliger, who exist but once in a century, but who, when they do exist, elevate the country in which they are born, and even the age in which they live,—our illustrious countryman, Sir Humphry Davy, has discovered a process, by which this evil principle of nature is absolutely subdued, and all possibility of danger from it, altogether removed.

A stronger proof of the utility of Science cannot be required:—Perhaps, among those who frequent, or who may soon frequent, your Library, or your Chambers of Experiment, there may be some,

whose bosoms are pregnant with celestial fire, and who only want the facilities of acquiring knowledge, which these afford, to become like that great man, leaders in Science and benefactors to Humanity ; but who, without these, would live and die unknowing, and unknown. What a satisfaction it must be to the friends of the London Institution to call forth the energies of such a man !

V.

Thus, in every age has Science been subservient to Commerce. *When they are separated*, Science loses almost all her utility ; Commerce, almost all her dignity. *When they are united*, each grows with the growth, each strengthens with the strength of the other, and their powers appear unlimited. They ascend the heavens, delve the depths of the earth, and fill every climate that encourages them with industry, energy, wealth, honour and happiness.—To civilization, to virtue, to religion, they open every climate ; they land them on every shore ; they spread them over every territory.

These being the happy effects of their union, must it not be the desire of all, who wish well to either,—of all true and enlightened friends of their country, that every measure should be adopted, by which this union can be cemented and invigorated ? Permit me to add, that should Science ever be neglected by this country and encouraged by others,

the commercial part of the community would, in all probability, suffer most and soonest, from the consequences.

In a conversation, which a very inveterate and acute, and once a very powerful enemy of England, held with a friend of mine at Elba, he spoke of her in terms of respect, and even admiration : but said,—“ The term of the *transcendant glory* of “ England *must* now approach near its end. Years “ ago, *she* took a spring, and left the nations of “ the earth at a distance behind her ; *these*, will “ soon take their spring, and, not having your “ burthens on Commerce and her Arts, will pass “ you.”—Vain be the augury ! We trust and feel it will. But, were there a ground for it, one powerful means of defeating it would most assuredly be, to promote the Union of Science and Commerce ; to stimulate Science to every exertion likely to prove serviceable to the Commercial Energies of the community ; to furnish Commerce with the means of affording to Science and her followers, every facility of research and experiment ; to invite Science within your walls, and to establish, on a wise, an enlarged, and a dignified plan,—on a plan suited to the high character of a British Merchant, —such Institutions as that, which the ceremony of this day has placed under the protection of the City of London, and her opulent, honourable, and discerning sons.

That to deserve well of their country is Their

earnest wish, we all know ; now, power or superfluous wealth is seldom so well employed, as in the encouragement of those, whose labours increase the knowledge, refine the taste, or elevate the genius of their countrymen ; and those, who are desirous of fair fame, have no such certain means of attaining it, as connecting their names with great Literary Institutions, and thus securing the gratitude of the Artist and the Scholar.

ESSAY VI.

*An APPEAL to the PROTESTANTS of
GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.*

“ I look upon my Roman Catholic Brethren as fellow subjects, and fellow Christians, believers in the same God, and partners in the same redemption. Speculative differences in some points of faith, with me, are of no account: They and I have but one religion,—the religion of Christianity. Therefore, as children of the same Father,—as travellers in the same road, —and seekers of the same salvation, why not love each other as brothers? It is no part of Protestantism to persecute Catholics; and without justice to the Catholics, there can be no security for the Protestant Establishment; as a friend, therefore, to the permanency of this Establishment; to the prosperity of the Country, and the justice due to my Catholic Brethren, I shall cheerfully give my vote, that the Bill be committed.”—Extract of the Bishop of Killala’s Speech in the House of Lords, 13th of March 1793, on the Bill for the Relief of His Majesty’s Roman-catholic Subjects.

THIS appeal was addressed to that respectable portion of his fellow-subjects, by the writer of these pages, in the year 1813; when the petitions of the English and Irish catholics, for the repeal of penal laws remaining in force against them, were presented to the legislature.

In the postscript, the writer mentioned his having just then heard of the *abolition of the Inquisition*:—The restoration of it must be lamented by every real christian;—it cannot hold.

*An APPEAL to the PROTESTANTS of
GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.*

IN the last sessions of parliament, the house of commons came to a resolution, that “ the house would early in the next session take into its most serious consideration the laws affecting his majesty’s roman-catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to such final, conciliatory adjustment, as might be conducive to the peace of the United Kingdom, stability of the protestant establishment, and the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his majesty’s subjects.”

Encouraged by this resolution, the roman-catholics of England and Ireland intend presenting immediately separate petitions to each house of parliament, “ for a repeal of the penal and disabling statutes, “ which still remain in force against them.”

In the mean time they observe with great concern and surprize, that attempts are made to préjudice the legislature against their application. Many erroneous, artful, and inflammatory publications of this tendency, have been actively and extensively circulated. The charges brought in them against the roman-catholics, are of the most serious nature. The object of this address to you, is to answer these charges, and to state to you, succinctly, the grounds of the intended application of the English roman-catholics to the legislature for relief. The greatest

part of what is intended to be said in the address will apply, in great measure, as much to the situation of the Irish and Scottish, as to the situation of the English roman-catholics : but as the penal codes of Ireland, Scotland, and England, in respect to roman-catholics, are very different, it has been thought advisable to confine the present address to the case of the English roman-catholics only.

I.

It is generally represented in the publications of which we complain, that the English roman-catholics *labour under no real grievances* ; and that, if all the remaining penal laws against them were repealed, *the number of those, who would be really benefited by the repeal, would be too insignificant to make their relief an object of legislative concern.*

But this representation is altogether erroneous—the English catholics labour under many severe penalties and disabilities : their whole body is affected by them, and would be essentially benefited by their removal.

1st. By the 13th Charles 2d, commonly called the **Corporation Act**, their whole body is excluded from offices in cities and corporations.

2d. By the 25th Charles 2d, commonly called the **Test Act**, their whole body is excluded from civil and military offices.

How injurious these acts are; both to the public and to the individuals on whom they operate, appeared in

1795; in which year, during the then great national alarm of invasion, lord Petre, the grandfather of the present lord, having, with the express leave and encouragement of government, raised, equipped, and trained, at his own expense, a corps of 250 men for his majesty's service, requested that his son might be appointed to the command of them. His son's religion was objected, his appointment was refused, and another person was appointed to the command of the corps. You cannot but feel how such a conduct tended to discourage the catholics from exertions of zeal and loyalty. But the noble family had too much real love of their country to resile from her service, even under these circumstances. His lordship delivered over the corps, completely equipped and completely trained, into the hands of government, and his son served in the ranks. Surely you cannot think that laws, which thus tend to alienate the hearts, and paralyze the exertions of those who, in the hour of danger, thus wished to serve their country, are either just or wise.

3d. By the 7th and 8th of William 3d, ch. 27, roman-catholics are liable to be prevented from voting at elections.

4th. By the 30th Car. 2d. s. 2. c. 1, roman-catholic peers are prevented from filling their hereditary seats in parliament.

5th. By the same statute, roman-catholics are prevented from sitting in the house of commons.

6th. By several statutes, roman-catholics are dis-

abled from presenting to advowsons, a legal incident of property, which the law allows even to the Jew.

7th. Though a considerable proportion of his majesty's fleets and armies is roman-catholic, not only no provision is made for the religious comforts and duties of roman-catholic soldiers and sailors, but, by the articles of war, they are liable to the very heaviest pains and penalties for refusing to join in those acts of outward conformity to the religious rites of the established church, which a roman-catholic considers to amount to a dereliction of his faith. By the articles of war, sect. 1, a soldier absenting himself from divine service and sermon, is liable, for the first offence, to forfeit 12 d. and for the second, and every other offence, to forfeit 12 d. and to be put in irons. By the same articles, sect. 2, art. 5, " If " he shall disobey any lawful commands of his su- " perior" (and, of course, if he shall disobey any law- ful commands of his superior officer to attend divine service and sermon) " he shall suffer death, or such " other punishment as by a general court-martial " shall be awarded."

In the last parliament, it was shewn, that a meritorious private, for refusing, (which he did in the most respectful manner) to attend divine service and sermon according to the rites of the established church, was confined nine days in a dungeon on bread and water.

The roman-catholics acknowledge with gratitude, the virtual suspension of these laws, in consequence

of the orders recently issued by his royal highness the present commander in chief, and the facilities which they afford for enabling the roman-catholic soldiers to attend their own religious worship ; but they beg leave to observe, that these humane regulations still want the firm sanction of law, and therefore to a certain extent, are still precarious : and are not *always* attended to.

8th. In common with the rest of his majesty's subjects, the roman-catholics contribute to the religious establishment of the country ; they have also to support their own religious functionaries ; and thus have a double religious establishment to defray. Of this, however, they do not complain ; but they think it a serious grievance that their own religious endowments are not legalized like those of the protestant dissenters.

In hospitals, workhouses, and other public institutions, the attendance of the ministers of their own communion is sometimes denied to the poor of the roman-catholic religion, and the children of the roman-catholic poor are sometimes forced into protestant schools under the eyes of their parents.

II.

SUCH, fellow subjects, is the particular operation of the principal laws still remaining in force against your English catholic brethren.—The *general effect* of them is, to depress every member of the body below his legitimate level in society.

Even in the very lowest order of the community, some situations conferring comfort, emolument, or distinction, are open to the individuals of that class, and in proportion as the several classes of society rise into importance, these situations are multiplied. From all of them the law excludes the English catholic. This effectually places him below his protestant brethren of the same class, and makes the whole body in the estimation of the community a depressed and insulated cast.

This the roman-catholics severely feel ; but it is not by its substantial effects alone that they feel their depression. Some avenues of wealth are still open to them—none to honours or distinctions. Thus, thousands of those possibilities, the prospect and hope of which constitute a large proportion of the general stock of human happiness, are peremptorily denied to the roman-catholics. No hope of provision, of preferment, of honours, or dignity, cheers their souls or excites their exertions. A roman-catholic scarce steps into life when he is made to feel that nothing which confers them is open to him ; and however successful his career may have been, it seldom happens that his success has not been, on more than one occasion, either lessened or retarded by the circumstance of his having been a roman-catholic.

Here then our protestant countrymen are called upon to place themselves in our situation ; and to reflect, what their own feelings would be, if, from

a conscientious adherence to their religious principles, they belonged to a class thus legally degraded. How often would they substantially feel the effects of this degradation? How many of their hopes would it destroy? How many of their projects would it ruin? Surely a petition to the legislature from any portion of his majesty's subjects, for the removal of such a woe, is entitled to the sympathy and aid of every other portion of the community.

III.

WE are sometimes told, that *however the repeal of the laws complained of by the roman-catholics would benefit them, it would confer no real benefit on the state*; and that, as no alteration of law should take place, unless it promotes the general welfare of the state, the laws complained of should remain in force.

But we beg leave to submit to the consideration of our countrymen, that the whole kingdom would be essentially served by the repeal of the penal laws remaining in force against his majesty's roman-catholic subjects. On this head the writer of these pages requests your particular attention.

Two-thirds of the population of Ireland, and no inconsiderable proportion of the population of England, is composed of roman-catholics. It is obvious that the feelings of this large proportion of the community are wounded, in the highest degree, by the penal and disabling laws to which they are subject;

and that they consider themselves highly injured, insulted, and degraded by them. Now, must it not be beneficial to the state, that this extensive feeling of insult, injury, and degradation, should be healed? Do not wisdom and sound policy make it the interest of the state, that every circumstance which leads this injured, insulted, and degraded, but numerous portion of the community, to think that any new order of things must end their injury, insult, and degradation, and is, therefore, desirable, should be removed as soon as possible? Surely the removal of it must be as advantageous to the state, as it will be advantageous and gratifying to the persons individually benefited by it.

But this is not the only circumstance which would make the repeal of the penal laws a general benefit to the state. Again we request you to consider the immense number of his majesty's roman-catholic subjects, and the great proportion which it bears to the rest of the community. What a proportion of genius, of talent, of energy, of every thing else, by which individuals are enabled to distinguish themselves, and benefit and elevate their country, must fall to their share!—But all this, for the present, is lost to you, in consequence of the penal codes. Is the subtraction of this prodigious mass of probable genius, talent, and wisdom, from the general stock, no detriment to the state? Surely it is a national loss. Thus while the penal code harasses the individual object of its infliction, it contracts and

paralyzes, to an amazing degree, the strength, powers, and energies of the whole community.

IV.

IT is alleged, *that the roman-catholics of this kingdom enjoy the most full and liberal toleration; and that toleration is the utmost favour, to which any non-conformist to the religion established by law can reasonably aspire.*

To this, we beg leave to answer, that toleration, rightly understood, is all we ask for by our petition. But what is toleration, when the word is rightly understood? If, after a government has adopted a particular religion, decreed its mode of worship, to be observed in its churches, and provided for its functionaries, from the funds of the state, it leaves the non-conformist in complete possession of all his civil rights and liberties, the non-conformist enjoys a full and complete toleration. But whenever the government of a country represses other forms of religion, by subjecting those who profess them to any deprivation or abridgment of civil right or liberty, toleration is at an end, and persecution begins.

This is too plain a position to admit of contradiction: the only question, therefore, is, Whether the pains and penalties to which the roman-catholics are still subject by the laws in force against them, deprive them of any civil right or liberty?

To meet this question fully, I shall consider how

far the Corporation Act, which excludes us from corporations, and the Test Act, which excludes us from civil and military offices, can be justly said to deprive us of a civil right. I prefer placing the question on these acts, because by their own confession, it is the strongest hold of our adversaries, and because, in the discussion of that question, thus propounded, I shall advocate the cause of the protestant dissenters as much as our own.

Our common adversaries contend, that the exclusion of non-conformists, by the Test and Corporation Acts, from honourable and lucrative offices, is not a punishment, and therefore is not intolerance.

But before the enactment of those statutes, were not all the subjects of this realm equally eligible, by the common law of the land, to every honourable and every lucrative office which the state could confer? Is not eligibility to office a civil right? Does it not, therefore, necessarily follow, that every statute which deprived non-conformists of their right of eligibility to office, deprived them of a civil right, and was therefore penal? If roman-catholics had been in possession of these offices, and deprived of them in consequence of their adherence to their religion by the statutes in question; some persons might have contended for the wisdom of the statutes, but none could have contended that they were not highly penal. But whatever difference there may be in the degree of penal infliction, there is none in the penal quality of those statutes, which deprive

persons of offices, and those which deprive them of their prior legal eligibility to them. The right of possessing an office, the right of succeeding to it, and the right of eligibility to it, are equally civil rights. There is no difference in this respect between offices and landed property—the right to possess an estate, to succeed to it, and to acquire it, are equally civil rights. The justice or policy of these laws is not now under our consideration—the simple question before us is, Whether eligibility to offices and election into corporations, were not by the common law the civil right of every Englishman, and whether his being deprived of it was not a penal infliction? It is impossible to deny it. This infliction reaches every description of non-conformists to the established church; their religion, therefore, is not tolerated—it is persecuted. On the policy, the justice, or degree of that persecution, there may a difference of opinion; but that, in some degree at least, it is a persecution, it seems impossible to deny. Thus we seem to arrive at this unquestionable conclusion, that, in point of fact, all non-conformists are persecuted. The difference between roman-catholics and other non-conformists, is, that roman-catholics are subject to pains and disabilities which do not affect any other description of non-conformists. The roman-catholics, therefore, are the most persecuted of all.

Here then we close with our adversaries; we seek not to interfere with the established church, with her

hierarchy, with her endowments; with her tithes, with any thing else that contributes to her honour, her comfort, or her security. Give us but toleration in the true sense of that much-abused word, and we claim no more. By the oath prescribed to the roman-catholics of Ireland; by the 33d of his present majesty, the roman-catholic swears—“That “ he will defend to the utmost of his power, the “ settlement and arrangement of property in that “ country, as established by the laws now in being; “ and he thereby disclaims, disavows, and solemnly “ abjures any intention to subvert the present church “ establishment, for the purpose of substituting a “ catholic establishment in its stead; and he so- “ lemnly swears, that he will not exercise any privi- “ lege to which he is or may be entitled, to disturb “ and weaken the protestant religion, and protes- “ tant government in that kingdom.”

V.

But, it is suggested, that though it should be con- ceded, that all other non-conformists to the church of England, ought to be admitted to a free and complete toleration, the roman-catholics should be excluded from it on account of their acknowledg- ment of the supremacy of the pope.

This admits of a very easy answer. The roman-catholics certainly acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the pope; but they deny his temporal authority. They acknowledge no right, either in

the pope, or in any council, to interfere in any manner in temporal concerns, or to interfere by any mode of temporal power, in concerns of a spiritual nature. By the oath prescribed to the English roman-catholics, by the 31st of his present majesty, we swear, that " we do not believe that the pope of " Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, " or potentate hath, or ought to have, any temporal " or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre- " eminence, directly or indirectly, within the " realm."

The Irish and Scotch roman-catholic subjects of his majesty take a similar oath. The answers given by the foreign universities to the questions proposed to them by the direction of Mr. Pitt, the doctrines laid down in all our catechisms, and other standard books of authority, express the same belief. In the oath taken by the Irish roman-catholics, they swear, that " it is not an article of the catholic faith, and " that they are not thereby bound to believe or pro- " fess that the pope is infallible ; or that they are " bound to obey any order, in its own nature im- " moral, though the pope or any ecclesiastical " power should issue or direct such an order ; but " that, on the contrary, they hold it sinful in them " to pay any regard to such an order."

It is said, that the popes on several occasions have claimed and exercised the right of temporal power. We acknowledge it, and we lament it. But the fact is of little consequence ; no roman-catholic now

believes, that either pope or council, or both pope and council acting together, have, or ought to have any right to interfere by any form or mode, either of temporal or spiritual power, in civil concerns ; or to interfere by any form or mode of temporal power, in spiritual concerns. This the Irish, Scottish, and English roman-catholics have sworn, and they act up to their oaths.

VI.

I PROCEED to another charge :—*It is asserted to be a tenet of our faith, or, at least, a received opinion among us, that the pope or the church has a right to absolve subjects from their allegiance to their sovereign.*

But this doctrine has been most solemnly abjured by us, in the oaths which we have taken to government. It is disclaimed by the opinions of the foreign universities ; and pope Pius the sixth proscribed it, by his rescript of the 17th of June 1791.

VII.

THE same may be said of the *charge brought against us, of holding it lawful to kill any sovereign, or any private person under excommunication.* This doctrine is also disclaimed by us, in our oaths, as “ unchristian and impious ;” it is disclaimed in terms, equally strong, in the answers of the foreign universities ; and pope Pius the sixth, in his rescript of 1791, solemnly declares such a murder “ to be a “ horrid and detestable crime.”

VIII.

THE same answer may also be given to the charge, of its being a *tenet of our church, that it is lawful to break faith with heretics.* In our oaths, we disclaim that doctrine also, “as impious and unchristian;” and the terms in which it is disclaimed in the answers of the foreign universities; are equally strong. But, without entering further on the subject of this charge, we make this solemn appeal upon it, to the feelings and common sense of every reader of these pages:—Does not the single circumstance of our being, after the lapse of two hundred years, petitioners to parliament for the repeal of the penal and disabling laws to which we are subject, in consequence of our not taking oaths, the taking of which would, at once, have delivered us from all these penalties and disabilities, prove, beyond all exception and argument, that we do not believe the existence of any power which can dispense with the obligation of an oath? On this head I beg leave to add my own testimony—having, in almost every stage of life, lived in habits of acquaintance or intimacy with all descriptions of roman-catholics; the young, the old, the literate, the illiterate, foreigners and natives, ecclesiastic and secular, I never knew one who did not hear the charge in question with indignation, and treat it as an execrable calumny.

But it is said, that the council of Lateran assume a right to temporal power, and that the council of

of Constance authorized the violation of the safe-conduct granted to John Huss. Both those facts are positively denied by the roman-catholics. This is not a place for discussing the point—but, what does it signify?—If the council of Lateran claimed, for the pope, or itself, a right to temporal power, it did wrong; if the council of Constance authorized the violation of the safe-conduct, it did infamously, and there's an end on't.

IX.

HAVING had frequent occasion to mention in these pages *the answers of the foreign universities to certain questions, proposed to them by the direction of Mr. Pitt*, the reader will probably wish to be better informed of the circumstances attending the transaction.

In the year 1788, the committee of the English catholics waited on Mr. Pitt, respecting their application for a repeal of the penal laws. He requested to be furnished with authentic evidence of the opinions of the roman-catholic clergy, and the roman-catholic universities abroad, “on the existence and “ extent of the pope's dispensing power.” Three questions were accordingly framed, and submitted to his approbation. As soon as it was obtained, they were sent to the universities of Paris, Louvain, Alcalá, Douay, Salamanca, and Valladolid, for their opinions.—The questions proposed to them were—
1. Has the pope, or cardinals, or any body of men,

or any individual of the church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the realm of England ?

2. Can the pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, absolve or dispense with his majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever ?

3. Is there any principle in the tenets of the catholic faith, by which catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transactions either of a public or a private nature ?

The universities answered unanimously—

1. That the pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, HAS NOT any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence, whatsoever, within the realm of England.

2. That the pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, CANNOT absolve or dispense with his majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever.

3. That there is no principle in the tenets of the catholic faith, by which catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transactions, either of a public or a private nature.

Nothing can be more explicit than the answers of the foreign universities—some of them express perfect wonder, that such questions should be proposed

to them by a nation that glories in her learning and discernment.

As soon as the opinions of the foreign universities were received, they were transmitted to Mr. Pitt. But the roman-catholics wish it to be most distinctly understood, that it was for *his* satisfaction, not *theirs*, that these opinions were taken. Assuredly, his majesty's roman-catholic subjects did not want the wisdom of foreign universities to inform them, that his majesty is the lawful sovereign of all his roman-catholic subjects, and that by every divine and human law, his roman-catholic subjects owe him true, dutiful, active, and unreserved allegiance.

The originals of these questions and of the answers to them, with the notarial authentications of them, have been produced in the House of Commons by Sir John Cox Hippisley. They are in the custody of the writer of these pages, and are open to the inspection of every person who wishes to inspect them.

X.

IT is also objected to the roman-catholics, that it is *an article of their faith*, or, *at least*, that they consider it to be lawful, to persecute heretics for their religious opinions. All this the roman-catholics most explicitly deny, and they consider it is completely denied in the solemn disclaimers made by them in all their oaths, of the direct or indirect right of the pope or the church to temporal power; as, without temporal power, persecution cannot subsist.

They admit that many persons of their communion, both ecclesiastic and secular, have, at different times, been guilty of the crime of religious persecution ; but they blame the conduct of those persons as severely, as it is blamed by their protestant brethren.

They also plead a tremendous set-off. The massacre of Paris, on St. Bartholomew's day, was most horrid ; but it had been preceded by the atrocities, full as horrid, of the anabaptist protestants at Munster. To the burnings in the reign of Queen Mary, the roman-catholics oppose the executions of priests in the reigns of queen Elizabeth, and the three first princes of the house of Stuart : they apprehend, that more cannot be said against the revocation of the edict of Nantes, than against the deprivation of two thousand presbyterian ministers of their livings, by the Act of Uniformity. They also bring into account, Oates' plot ; the sentence of death passed on Servetus for errors against the Trinity, through the influence of Calvin, his execution, and the justification of it by two of the principal pillars of the reformed church, Melancthon and Beza. Between those enormities it is not easy to strike a balance. But the roman-catholics may justly ask, by what principle of justice, or by what fair course of reasoning, the protestant is authorized to ascribe the instances of persecution, which he proves on roman-catholics, to a principle of the roman-catholic creed, unless he allows at the same time, that the instances

of persecution which the catholic proves in the protestant church are equally attributable to some principle of the protestant creed. “ Brother, brother “ (say two known characters on the stage) we have “ both been in the wrong.”—Let us learn wisdom from them ; let us no more upbraid one another with our common failings ; let us forget and forgive, bury all past animosities in oblivion, shake hands, and be friends. This is the only rational mode of closing this—by far the most disgusting and disgraceful of all our controversies.

XI.

ANOTHER charge is brought against us by our adversaries, in consequence of the *Doctrines imputed to us respecting Sacerdotal Absolution*. We are said to believe that the mere absolution of a priest, without any thing on our part, is a full remission of sin. In answer to this we shall only transcribe the following passage from the book of prayers for the use of catholics serving in fleets and armies :—“ You “ know, from the catechism you have learnt, and “ the books of catholic instruction you have read, “ that the absolution of a priest can be of no benefit “ to you, unless you be duly disposed to a reconcil- “ iation with your offended God by true faith, by a “ sincere sorrow for all your sins, by a firm resolu- “ tion never to commit them again, and by a will- “ ingness to satisfy God and your neighbour also, as “ far as justice requires. Without those dispositions

“ on your part, the act of the priest would not be
“ ratified in Heaven ; you would be guilty of the
“ profanation of the Sacrament of Penance, and pro-
“ voke the indignation of the Almighty, instead of
“ obtaining his mercy.”

It is not a little remarkable, that a canon of the English church, in 1608, enjoining the priest not to make known to any one what had been revealed to him, bears such a similitude to the roman-catholic doctrine on this head, that when it was produced by Sir John Cox Hippisley in the house of commons, Mr. Wilberforce interrupted him, by saying, that it was a canon, not of the English but the romish church, and expressed his astonishment when Sir John Cox Hippisley shewed it to be one of the most recent canons which had been formed for the government of the established church.

XII.

ONE of the objections most strongly urged against the roman-catholics, is *the tenet imputed to them, that none are saved out of their communion.*

I beg leave not to enter into a discussion of this objection, as it cannot be urged to us by a protestant of the established church of England, as the Athanasian creed forms a part of her liturgy ; or by a protestant of the established church of Scotland, as the protestants of that church, in their profession of faith of 1568, say, that “ out of the church there is neither life nor everlasting happiness ;” or by a pro-

testant of the French huguenot church, as in their catechism, on the 10th article of the creed, they profess, that “out of the church there is nothing but “death and damnation.”

XIII.

THIS leads us to observe, that *passages are often cited from the works of roman-catholic writers, which express, that the roman-catholic religion has always been the same ; and that those who say that the modern roman-catholics differ in one iota from their predecessors, either deceive themselves or wish to deceive others.* These passages have been cited to prove, that whatever doctrine any pope or any ecclesiastical body, or any writer of approved authority, has maintained or sanctioned in former times, is universally approved of by the modern catholics. But this is a very unjust perversion of the meaning of the writers from whose writings these passages, or passages of a similar import, are cited. Not one of them approves of any act of temporal power which the pope or any body of churchmen have ever claimed in right of their spiritual character. In the cited passages, the writers mean to assert no more than that the faith and essential discipline of roman-catholics have always been what they now are. But they admit that the resort of the popes, or of any other ecclesiastics to temporal power, for effecting the object of their spiritual commission, was not only no part of the faith or essential discipline of the church, but

was diametrically opposite to its faith and discipline. The passages, therefore, to which we allude, can never be brought to prove the position for which they are quoted. To urge them for such a purpose, is evidently a gross perversion of their meaning.

XIV.

I SHALL only notice, one further objection:—*The supposed immensity of the distance, between the creed of the established, and the creed of the roman-catholic church; from which, it is inferred, that there always must be a spirit of religious discord, and never a communion of civil rights between the members of them.*—To this, the experience of mankind gives a clear answer,—if you remove persecution, you remove discord. If you do not compel a person to enter your church, he will shake hands with you at the door of it: and many years will not pass away before you will meet him at the same altar.

But, is the difference between the churches really as great as it is generally thought?—The divine precept, that we should love our neighbour as ourselves, is equally recognized by protestants and roman-catholics. They are equally willing to have their conduct, on every occasion of life, tried by that golden rule. What further can government require, on the moral code of her subjects?

In respect to their religious code,—All christians agree, 1st. that there is one God; 2dly, that, he is a

being of infinite perfection; 3dly, that, he directs all things by his providence; 4thly, that, it is our duty to love God with all our hearts; 5thly, that, it is our duty to repent of our sins; 6thly, that, God pardons the truly penitent; 7thly, that, there is a future state of rewards and punishments, where all mankind shall be judged according to their works; 8thly, that, God sent his Son into the world, to be its saviour, the author of eternal salvation to all that obey him; 9thly, that, he is the true Messiah; 10thly, that, he worked miracles, suffered, died, and rose again, as is related in the four gospels; and 11thly, that, he will, hereafter, make a second appearance on the earth, raise all mankind from the dead, judge the world in righteousness, bestow eternal life on the virtuous, and punish the workers of iniquity.

In the belief of these articles, all christians, roman-catholics, lutherans, calvinists, arminians, and socinians, are agreed. In addition to these articles, each division and sub-division of christians has its own tenets. Now, let each settle among its own members, what are the articles of belief, peculiar to them, which, in their cool, deliberate judgment, they consider as absolutely necessary that a person should believe, to be a member of the church of Christ; let these articles be divested of all foreign matter, and expressed in perspicuous, exact, and unequivocal terms; and above all, let each distinction of christians earnestly wish to find an agreement between themselves and their fellow christians:—

the result of a discussion, conducted on this plan, would most assuredly be, to convince all christians, that the essential articles of religious credence, in which, there is a real difference amongst christians, are, not very numerous ; and that, if the re-union of christians, be no more than a golden dream, the possible approximation to it is nearer than is generally supposed.

And, after all, is the reunion of the roman-catholic and protestant churches absolutely impossible ?—Bossuet, the glory of the roman-catholic church, and her ablest champion, thought it was not.—Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the emperor Leopold, and several princes in Germany, conceived a project of re-uniting the roman-catholic and lutheran churches. In consequence of it, a correspondence took place between Bossuet, on the part of the roman-catholics, and Molanus and Leibniz, on the part of the lutherans. Molanus, was director of the protestant churches and consistories of Hanover ; Leibniz, was a member of the aulic council. In the exact sciences, he was inferior to Newton alone ; in metaphysics, he had no superior ; in general learning, he had scarcely a rival ; in the theological disputes of the times, he was singularly conversant. The correspondence between these great men, on the subject of the re-union, may be seen, in the *Œuvres Posthumes de Bossuet*, vol. I. ; *Nouvelle Edition des Œuvres de Bossuet*, vol. XI. ; *Leibnizii Opera*, studio Lud. Dutens,

vols. I. & V. ; and the *Pensées de Leibniz*, 2 vols. 8vo. Every word of the correspondence deserves the perusal, both of the scholar and the divine. A short view of it is given, in the account of the life and writings of Bossuet, recently published by the writer of these pages. It continued during ten years :—I shall transcribe from it, the two following passages, from the letters written by Bossuet to Leibniz.

“ The council of Trent,” he says, in one of them, “ is our stay ; but, we shall not use it, to prejudice our cause. We shall deal, more fairly, with our opponents. We shall make the council serve for a statement and explanation of our doctrines. Thus, we shall come to an explanation on those points, in which, either of us imputes to the other, what he does not believe, and, on which, we dis-
“ pute, only because we misconceive each other. This may lead us far : *for, Molanus has actually conciliated the points, so essential, of justification and the eucharist. Nothing is wanting to him, on that side, but, that he should be avowed. Why should we not hope, to conclude, in the same manner, disputes less difficult and of less importance?*” The letter, from which the passage is extracted, was written in an early stage of the controversy : what might not be hoped from such a spirit of good sense and conciliation !—The letter, from which the following passage is extracted, was written in the tenth year of the correspondence : and I feel, that every reader of these pages will lament, with

me, that it is the last letter in the correspondence.

“ Among the divines of the confession of Augs-
“ burgh,” says Bossuet, “ I always placed M. Mo-
“ lanus, in the first rank, as a man, whose learning,
“ candour and moderation, made him one of the
“ persons, the most capable I have ever known, of
“ advancing the NOBLE PROJECT OF REUNION. In
“ a letter, which I wrote to him, some years ago, by
“ the count Balatis, I assured him that *if he could*
“ *obtain the general consent of his party, to what*
“ *he calls his Cogitationes Privatae, I promised*
“ *myself, that, by joining to them, the remarks,*
“ *which I sent to him, on the confession of Augs-*
“ *burgh, and the other symbolic works of the pro-*
“ *testants, the work of the reunion would be per-*
“ *fected, in all its most difficult and most essential*
“ *parts; so that well disposed persons might, in a*
“ *short time, bring it to a conclusion.”*

XV.

SUCH, then, being the charges brought against the roman-catholics by their adversaries, and such being the defence made by the roman-catholics to them, will not every candid protestant admit, that the unfavourable opinion, which some still entertain of the civil and religious principles of roman-catholics, is owing, in a great measure, to prejudice?

But we have the satisfaction to find, that *the prejudice against us decreases rapidly*. With the mildness and good sense which distinguishes his respect-

able character, the earl of Liverpool thus expressed himself, in his speech in the debate of the house of lords, on the petition presented by the Irish catholics in 1810 :—“ *I have heard allusions made this night, to doctrines which I do hope no man now believes the catholics to entertain: nor is there any ground for an opinion that the question is opposed under any such pretence. The explanations which have been given on this head, so far as I know, are completely satisfactory, and the question as it now stands, is much more narrowed than it was on a former discussion.*”— [See his lordship’s speech, printed and published by Keating and Booker.] How very little beyond this declaration, and a legislative enactment in consequence of it, do the roman-catholics solicit!

CHARLES BUTLER.

Lincoln’s-Inn, }
Feb. 5, 1813. }

ESSAY VII.

The Discourse pronounced by Mr. CHARLES BUTLER, at the Anniversary Meeting of the ROMAN-CATHOLIC ASSOCIATED CHARITIES, on Monday the 13th of May 1816.

I HAVE to request, of my numerous and respectable hearers, that they will favour me with their attention, for a few minutes, while I shortly state the object and circumstances of the institution, which they are this day solicited to patronise.

It was established in 1764.—Early in that year some charitable persons, who compassionated the lamentable condition of the poor roman-catholic children in this metropolis, formed themselves into a society for their relief, and called it “*The Charitable Society for the Support of poor Children.*” Another Society, established for a corresponding purpose, under the appellation of “*The Provident Society,*” was afterwards incorporated into it. From that time the two societies have been styled, “*The Associated Catholic Charities.*”

The beginning of them was small.—At the end of the year 1764, the whole receipt amounted to five pounds sixteen shillings: but Providence has blessed the undertaking. It has ever prospered;

and upwards of two thousand pounds were collected for the Associated Catholic Charities during the last year.

From the annual subscriptions to them about 700 children receive daily instruction. Of these, more than 5-7ths are born of Irish parents. Two hundred and fifty of the boys, and one hundred and fifty of the girls, (besides receiving their daily instruction), are provided with clothing : 20 orphan boys are lodged, clothed, and fed ; and, upon an average, 20 of the children are annually apprenticed. Thus, every subscriber to the charities, has the satisfaction of knowing, that he contributes daily to the education and comfort of 700 children, to whom, otherwise, these blessings would be wholly unknown.

It must add to the pleasure of the subscribers to be informed, that, among the objects of their bounty, there are several, whose fathers, bravely fighting for their king and country, fell at Waterloo. The dying moments of these invaluable men were, perhaps, imbibited by reflecting on the destitute condition, in which they would leave their children. How would it have cheered their parting spirits to foresee, that many months would not elapse, before their children would be received into the interesting lines, which you now behold,—in the midst of a numerous meeting, where every eye would survey them with generous compassion,—every hand would be ready to contribute to their

relief,—the most exalted of their brethren in faith would be active in their cause,—and it would be, openly and warmly, patronised by sons of their king. I am aware that the royal dukes, to whom particularly I allude, do not, this day, honour us with their company ; but their hearts, I know, are with us and with our charity. To use the words of the duke of Kent, in a letter which I hold in my hands, and which I have the permission of his royal highness to read, “ the subject, uppermost “ in his heart, is to give public proofs of his attach- “ ment to religious toleration, and of the pleasure it “ affords him to encourage the education of the poor, “ whatever be their religious creed.” May this noble sentiment become universal !—May it pululate in a thousand institutions like the present !—In every part of the globe, may every child of every creed receive a useful and a virtuous education !—And never, never let it be forgotten, how early and how powerfully they were supported by the illustrious personages I have mentioned.

Let me now request you to consider, for a few moments, what, in all probability, would have been the situation of the poor children, whose cause I advocate, if they had not been relieved by this society. Of all the afflicting spectacles which suffering humanity presents, none calls for compassion more, than a destitute child in a corrupt and luxurious metropolis. He sees nothing, and hears nothing that is good, or which incites him to good;

but much he sees and hears which forcibly drags him to vice and misery. He is brought up in ignorance—grovels in the lowest haunts of idleness—associates with the vilest of human beings—learns nothing but mischievousness and lawlessness—and, at the end of a few years, has such confirmed habits of evil, that it becomes almost impossible to guide him into the paths of virtue. “It is as easy,” says one of the inspired writers, “for the Ethiopian to ‘change his skin, as for those to do good, who have ‘been accustomed to do evil.”

That this picture is not exaggerated, is too clear, from the result of the late inquiries into the state of the infant poor in this metropolis. In the house of commons it has been asserted, by one of its most respectable members, that London contains not fewer than 9,000 poor children, under the age of fifteen years, who have no lawful occupation—who have no means whatever of subsistence but thieving and pilfering, and assisting thieves and pilferers—and who are in regular training, under old and hardened offenders, for crimes still more atrocious. Whose soul is not appalled at this afflicting and formidable representation! Surely every motive of religion—every feeling of self-preservation, suggests to us the necessity of making the greatest exertions to subdue this alarming evil, and prevent its future growth. The only effectual means of doing it is establishing schools like the present.

I have presented to your consideration the distressing state of the destitute and neglected children in the metropolis—permit me now to contrast with it, the condition of the children educated by the Associated Charities, which you are this day solicited to patronise. They are instructed in the religion of their parents ; they are taught their duty to God and their neighbour ; they receive as much learning as is likely to be useful to them, and acquire habits of obedience and regularity. Thus, they are made sensible of the value of virtue in this life, and of its rewards in the next : they are enabled to gain a livelihood in comfort and decency ; are fitted for creditable employments ; and, if Providence should please to place greater advantages within their reach, are qualified to avail themselves of them. Perhaps, among these poor little ones, there is some heart, pregnant with celestial fire, and who only wants early cultivation to be himself elevated into eminence, and to become, in his turn, an instructor of others. How greatly will the subscribers to this society deserve of virtue and religion, if, by their means, a single child of this description should be saved from loss, and his talents brought into activity:—This circumstance, however, (though by no means altogether improbable, for Stone, for Ferguson, for Ludwig, were once, day labourers), ought not, perhaps, to be taken into general calculation ; but the good domestic, the obedient apprentice, the laborious journeyman, the attentive clerk, the active agent, and the trusty steward of his

master's property, may be reasonably expected from this institution. We may reasonably expect from it, a virtuous and honest generation, comfortable in themselves, useful to their employers, creditable in this life, and happy in the next.

Of their benefactors, such persons are never forgetful. Often will the voice of some or other of them be heard at the throne of Heaven, in prayer for those, to whose subscriptions to this society he owes his early instruction, his decent and religious habits, his comfortable subsistence, the smile and encouragement of his employer, the favour of Heaven.

And, what a moment will it be for us, if, in the tremendous day of general retribution, we shall behold some of those little ones, then themselves in possession of the bliss of Heaven, in consequence of the good education afforded them by this society, advancing to him who comes to judge us,—flinging before him the crowns of their own glory, in acknowledgment of their owing them to us,—and claiming from him the performance of the promises which he has made to those, who have been kind to little children in his name ! Then, we shall know the importance of these little ones—the incalculable value of charity to them—and whom we fed, and whom we clothed, and whom we instructed, when we fed, or clothed, or instructed these little ones !

But I must return their cause into their own hands : I must again present their little orator to you.—You have seen him humbly stand before you !

You have heard his little blameless voice, telling you the distresses of himself and his companions; thanking you for your past kindness, and beseeching its continuance. You have seen his little harmless hands raised to Heaven, to implore its blessings upon you. You see all their silent and unpretending looks. They leave it to the ministers of God—(and to whom can they trust their interests better than to the exemplary catholic clergy, who this day, with their most respectable and most respected pastor at their head, honour us with their company—whose merits, particularly in their admirable attention to the poor child and the poor parent, no tongue can adequately celebrate)—They leave it, I say, to these ministers of God, to discourse on the precepts of charity, and to denounce the woes, which, both in this life and the next, await the hard-hearted and uncharitable. Such serious words as these, never pass the lips of my little clients. All they venture to say is, we are poor, we are very poor! It is not our fault that we are so. It was the holy will of God that we should be born poor. It is his holy will, that you should have the means of relieving us. He has placed you between himself and us. He hath put into your hands the food, the raiment, the words of eternal life, which he intends for us. You must not, cannot, will not withhold them from us. In return for your kindness to us, we can only offer you our prayers. These you shall ever have.

And permit me, Gentlemen, to suggest, (and with the suggestion I shall close my address to you) that the prayers of poor children are of some value. When John Gerson, the chancellor of the church and university of Paris, was on his death-bed, his soul appeared to be agonized at the thoughts of his impending dissolution, and the judgments of God. Astonished and affrighted by his terrors, his friends strove to comfort him. They brought to his recollection the great and virtuous actions of his public life—the services which he had rendered to the church, of which, during many years, he had been one of the brightest ornaments—the learned and pious works he had written—his long-protracted old age, spent in prayer and penance. But all was vain:—His terrors continued, and he appeared to sink under them. At length,—one of his friends quitted the room. In about half an hour, he returned, followed by three hundred children, who were supported and educated by the charity of the dying man. The little creatures spread themselves from the threshold of his house to his bed-chamber, and there falling on their knees, raised their hands to Heaven and cried, “O God! bless poor John Gerson!—O Lord! be merciful to poor John Gerson!!!”

Hope, peace, and confidence returned to John Gerson. “Now, O God!” he exclaimed, in a transport of holy jubilation, “Thou dost let thy servant depart in peace! The soul that is accom-

“panied to eternity by the prayers of three hundred
“children, may advance with humble confidence into
“the presence of their Father and their God!”

The collection was then made, and amounted to about 650*l.*

In the following month of October, the city of London, with incomparable munificence and liberality, presented the Associated Charities with two hundred guineas.

ESSAY VIII.

A SPECIMEN

OF

AN INTENDED LIFE OF CHRIST.

C H A P. I.

ON THE PROPHECIES OF THE MESSIAH.

I. THE religion of the antediluvian patriarchs consisted in the knowledge, love and adoration of one supreme God ; in the belief, that he created a man and a woman, and placed them in a state of bliss, to endure for ever, if they should observe the command which he gave them, to abstain from eating of a forbidden tree ; that they ate of it, and were punished for their disobedience ; that, by their disobedience, they and their posterity incurred a total loss of the divine favour ; but were to be restored to it by a divine Redeemer, who, in the fulness of time, would be born of woman, and crush the serpent's head (').

These sublime tenets composed also the creed of Noah, and were spread over the world, by his first descendants. But, insensibly, the faith of mankind

(¹) Gen. iii. 15.

was adulterated. From the contemplation of the Creator, they naturally turned to a view of the wonders of his hands, particularly the sun, the moon, and the starry host of the heavens. By degrees, an opinion gained ground among them, that the heavenly bodies were inhabited by beings, endowed with intelligence and power, and entitled to religious worship. Kings, warriors, and the inventors of useful arts, next had their adoration ; and in the progress of time every object, animate or inanimate, which had, in a high degree, attracted their fear or love, appeared to them divine. A something divine was even supposed to reside in their images, and thus, idolatry spread itself over the earth.

In the midst of this corruption, the family of Shem, the eldest son of Noah, preserved, in a great degree, its religious integrity. From Shem, Abraham was tenth in descent. God made an alliance with him ; promised him to be the God of him and his descendants, and to establish him in a country abounding with plenty and temporal delights ; that it should be the seat of the true religion ; and that, from his seed, One should arise, by whom blessing and grace should be diffused through the whole earth (²). These promises he renewed to Isaac and Jacob ; and, in the prophecy of the latter, the Redeemer, generally promised to Abraham to be of his seed, was fixed to the tribe of Judah (³) ; and it was afterwards successively revealed, that he

(²) Gen. xii, xv, xvii.

(³) Gen. xlix. 10.

should be of the root of Jesse, of the royal house of David (⁴), and born of a virgin (⁵).

II. Such, according to the prophet, was to be the earthly lineage of the Messiah. On his character, and the object and nature of his mission, the revelations of the Almighty to the prophets were equally clear. His spiritual generation and glories from everlasting in his father's womb, were revealed to them (⁶). It was announced to them, that God would make a new covenant with his people; engrave a new law on their hearts; that the Messiah should bear the sins of his people; and, being himself without sin, should, for the sins of mankind, and for their salvation, be despised, rejected, and led like a lamb to the slaughter (⁷); that he should not see corruption, or his soul left in hell (⁸); that, after two days, he should rise (⁹), be the redemption of Israel (¹⁰), and the hope of the Gentiles, who should flock in crowds to adore him and learn his law (¹¹).

III. The time of his appearance was announced with the same precision. The prophecy of Jacob

(⁴) Psal. lxxxviii. 4, et seq. Isa. xi. 1, et seq. Jeremiah xxii. 5, 6. xvii. 13, et seq.

(⁵) Isa. vii. 14. Jer. xxxi. 22. Ezek. xliv. 2, 3.

(⁶) Psal. cix. (⁷) Isa. liii. 1. 7.

(⁸) Psal. xv. 8, 9, 10 (⁹) Osee vi. 3, 4.

(¹⁰) Osee xiii. 9. Dr. Pococke shows in his commentary, that the Rabbis always applied to the Messiah the passage referred to by this note.

(¹¹) Isa. xliv. 4, et seq. lxiv. 4. Agg. 11, 10.

foretold, that, before his advent, the house of Judah should lose its power and pre-eminence (¹) ; the prophecies of Aggæus (²) and Malachi (³) declared, that the Messiah should appear while the new temple stood ; and the visions of the prophet Daniel (⁴), after prefigurating, by the most splendid and distinct imagery, the successive rise and fall of the Medes, Persians, and Macedonians ; and the rise and establishment of the Roman empire, assigned the end of seventy weeks of years, computed from the return of the Jews from their captivity, for the appearance of the Redeemer of Israel.

With these predictions, events had corresponded. A few years before the birth of Christ, Judea was reduced to the state of a Roman province, and, in consequence of it, the house of Judah lost all its political consequence ; the second temple had been rebuilt, and was standing in its highest glory ; the Median, Persian, and Macedonian empires had disappeared ; the Roman empire was advancing to its zenith ; and the last day of the last of Daniel's weeks was arrived. The period, therefore, according to the repeated and uniform predictions of the prophets, was come, when, in the language of Isaiah (⁵), so beautifully marking the

(¹) Gen. Ixix. 8. See the learned Bishop of Avranche's interpretation of this prophecy in his *Demonstratio Evangelica. Pro. ix.*

(²) ii. 3.

(³) iii. 3.

(⁴) Dan. ix. 21.

(⁵) ch. Ixv. 6.

heavenly and earthly nature of the Messiah, “ the “ heavens were to drop down their dew, and the “ earth germinate the just.”

That, when Christ was born, the belief of the speedy appearance of the Messiah was universal in Judea, is evident from the Scriptures. Neither was this belief by any means confined to Judea⁽¹⁾. In the plains of Moab, Balaam had foretold the Star that should arise out of Jacob⁽²⁾. In the most eastern region of Asia, Confucius had been often heard to say, that in the West the Holy One would be found; Socrates⁽³⁾ had intimated to Alcibiades, the great Teacher, who was to instruct men how they should behave towards God and man; and Suetonius⁽⁴⁾ and Tacitus⁽⁵⁾, who lived in the century in which the Messiah was born, mention the general belief of the East, in their times, that the conqueror of the world should proceed from Judea.

(¹) Numbers, xxiv. 17.

(²) Duhalde, Eng. Tran. 3 vol. p. 100.

(³) In his Dialogue, Alcibiades, the second.

(⁴) In Vesp.

(⁵) Hist. L. 5. S. 12. ed. Brotier.

C H A P. II.

THE REVELATION OF THE BIRTH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Luke i. 5—25.

ONE prophecy remained to be fulfilled. Isaiah and Malachi had foretold that the Messiah would have a precursor of extraordinary dignity. In allusion to the practice of eastern monarchs, who, when they enter on an expedition, send harbingers before them to prepare all things for their march, and pioneers to open the passes and level the ways, Isaiah describes him as a royal harbinger, giving orders by a solemn proclamation to prepare the way of the Lord. “A voice,” saith the prophet, “is heard “in the wilderness! The voice of one that crieth, “prepare ye the way of Jehovah! Make straight in “the desart, an highway for our God. Every “valley shall be exalted, every hill made low; the “crooked shall be made straight, the rough places, “plain (').” The prophet Malachi, in one place,

(') Isaiah, ch. xl. 1, 3, 4. Baruch, ch. v, employs the same imagery, “every high hill and every bank of long conti-“nuance shall be cast down; every valley filled up to make “even the ground, that Israel may go safely in the way of “the Lord.” Diodorus Siculus mentions, lib. 4, that, when Semiramis made the tour of her dominions, she ordered the mountains to be digged down, the precipices to be levelled, the hollows to be filled up, and causeways to be raised in the plain country.

announces him in the same character ; in another, calls him a new Elias ; whose office it should be, “ to turn the hearts of the fathers to their children, “ and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just (²).” The time for his appearance on earth was now arrived.

His father was Zachary, a lineal descendant of Abias, son of Eleazar, the eldest of those sons of Aaron who survived him. Elizabeth, was the name of his mother. It is supposed that she descended by her father’s side from Aaron (³). Zachary and Elizabeth lived in a strict practice of inward holiness, and an exact observation of the commandments of God and the ordinances of his law (⁴) ; they were righteous in the sight of God, and blameless in the judgment of men. They had no child ; Elizabeth had been always barren ; and both of them were advanced in years. Their usual residence was in the mountainous part of Judea ; but Zachary necessarily went to Jerusalem, when the duties of his priesthood called him there.

According to a regulation made by David, the priests, who served the temple, were distributed into twenty-four classes ; sixteen of the classes were

(²) Mal. ch. iii. 1. ch. iv. 5.

(³) Among the Jews the children of priests were noble ; and their mothers, being the daughters of priests, gave new lustre to their nobility. The historian Josephus, (vol. i.) claimed this double honour.

(⁴) Εθνα, the commandments of the two tables ; Δικαιώματα, the civil and ceremonial precepts.

assigned to the sons of Eleazar, who, as we have mentioned, was the eldest surviving son of Aaron, and the remaining eight were assigned to the sons of Ithaman, who was Aaron's youngest surviving son. Each class performed the service of the temple, during one week, beginning with the sabbath; and then gave place to the succeeding class. The different duties of the class were parcelled out among its members by lot: some presided over the sacrifices; some had charge of the breads of proposition; some had the care of the lamps; some the care of the perfumes: and the last is said to have been considered the most honourable function. It was incumbent on the minister of it to see that the perfumes were prepared, and that they were placed, as the language of Scripture expresses it, before the Lord, that is, in the golden candlestick which stood before the interior veil, that separated the sanctuary from the Holy of Holies. The people were not allowed to enter into the sanctuary; their place was in the adjoining division of the temple ('). There they remained in prayer while the priest performed the interior ceremonies. When these were finished, the door of the sanctuary was opened, and the priest presented himself at it, and blessed the people.

At the time in which the evangelical history begins, the class of priests to which Zachary belonged officiated in the temple; and the duty of offering

(') But that part of the temple is said to have been particularly sacred. See Wetstein's note.

incense in the sanctuary had fallen to his lot. He was employed in the discharge of this function, the people praying without the sanctuary, and expecting him to appear and give them his benediction, when an angel of God stood before him on the right side of the altar. Zachary was surprised and terrified ; the angel bade him not fear : “ Thy prayers,” he said, “ have been heard ; thy wife Elizabeth shall “ bear thee a son ; thou must call him John ; he “ shall be to thee a subject of gladness and exulta-“ tion ; and multitudes shall rejoice in his birth. “ He shall be the precursor of the Messiah. Like “ other persons consecrated to God, he must abstain “ from wine and other fermented liquor. From his “ mother’s womb, he shall be filled with the Holy “ Ghost ; many of the children of Israel he shall “ convert to the Lord their God. He shall walk “ before him, with the spirit and power of Elias ; he “ shall make the faith and holiness of the patriarchs “ of old revive among their children ; and thus, “ removing their present disobedient spirit, shall “ dispose them to receive the salvation which the “ Messiah shall bring them.”

Zachary heard the divine promises, announced to him by the angel, with surprise, and with some degree of distrust. “ How can this be ! ” he said to the angel ; “ Give me a sign from Heaven, to assure “ me that it shall happen : I am old, and my wife “ is advanced in years.” “ Zachary,” replied the heavenly messenger, “ I am the angel Gabriel ; my

" station is in heaven before the throne of God ; by
" him I was sent to communicate to thee, the glad
" tidings which thou hast heard. As a sign of the
" truth of my words, and a reproof of thy hesitation
" in believing them, thou shalt be dumb till the
" promise I have made thee shall be fulfilled."

Having said this the angel disappeared. In the mean time the people were surprised that Zachary continued so long in the sanctuary (¹). After some time the door was opened, and he presented himself to them, to give them the usual benediction, but he was speechless and expressed himself by signs, so that the people perceived that, during his stay in the sanctuary, he had been favoured with a vision.

On the following sabbath, the week of his ministry expired, and he returned to his own house. Soon after, Elizabeth conceived the promised son. During the five following months, she remained in perfect retirement, blessing the Lord for his mercies to her, in removing, in so wonderful a manner, the barrenness, with which she had been reproached in her youth.

(¹) The Rabbis observe, that the Jews thought it improper that the ceremonies, performed within the sanctuary, should take up much time : if the priest remained in it a long time the people became impatient. See Wetstein's note.

CHAP. III.

GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST.

Matt. i. 1—12. Luke xi. 1—7.

ALL the events, which, according to the predictions of the prophets, were to precede the Messiah's appearance on earth, had now taken place ; and the sacred moment was come when the Word of God was to take flesh and to dwell among us.

The prophecies, that his earthly generation should be of the seed of Abraham, and of the royal house of David, have been shortly mentioned. To show the accomplishment of these prophecies, two of the evangelists have inserted the genealogy of Christ in their gospels. Saint Luke begins with Adam, and traces the lineage of Christ from him to Abraham. With Abraham, the genealogy given us by St. Matthew begins, and from Abraham to David ; each evangelist gives us the same lineage. David had two sons, Solomon and Nathan : the last was the elder son ; but Solomon, by the order of God, succeeded David in his throne, and transmitted it to his descendants. St. Matthew traces the younger, but the royal line, from Solomon to Jeconias ; St. Luke traces the elder branch from Nathan to Neri. Neri had a daughter called Susanna, but no male issue : Susanna married Jeconias, and had by him a son, Salathiel. In Salathiel both the lines of David's descendants centre, and in him the evangelists

again meet, and each mentions Zorobabel as the son of Salathiel. There they again separate ; St. Matthew gives the names of the elder branch of the descendants of Salathiel down to Jacob ; St. Luke gives the names of the younger branch of the descendants of Salathiel to Heli, Heliachim or Joachim. Mary, the mother of God, was the only child of Heli, and she was legally married to Joseph, the son of Jacob. Thus, both Joseph and Mary were of the house of David. In Jesus, their only son, all the legal rights of the house of David, and all the spiritual benedictions attached to it, by the divine promises, centered *.

At the time, when the mystery of the Incarnation began, the house of David was in an humble condition.

In punishment of the idolatry of Solomon, ten of the twelve tribes revolted from his son, and formed the kingdom of Israel : the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests and Levites, remained faithful to the house of David, and formed the kingdom of Judah.

Each of these kingdoms successively was conquered ; and the tribes, that formed them, were carried into captivity. The people of Israel were dispersed in distant countries, from which they never returned (') ; the people of Judah were allowed by

* See the Appendix, Note I.

(') Major Rennel, in his Geography of Herodotus, shews it to be probable that they were chiefly dispersed in Media.

their conquerors to return. After their return, the royal house of David was, for some time, distinguished among them; insensibly it declined, and became confounded in the general mass of the community. Mary, and probably Joseph, lived at Nazareth, an inconsiderable town, which had belonged to the tribe of Napthali, in the lower Galilee; and from the general narrative of the Gospel, we have reason to think the situation of each was humble. Mary had dedicated her virginity to God (¹), but was betrothed, with all legal forms of marriage, to Joseph. That Joseph was a just man, is the short but emphatic character given of him in the Gospel; but neither Joseph nor Mary were aware of the high dignity which Providence designed for her.

C H A P. IV.

THE ANNUNCIATION TO THE VIRGIN MARY OF THE
BIRTH OF CHRIST.

Luke i. 26—38.

IN the sixth month after Elizabeth had conceived, the angel Gabriel was sent to Mary, to announce to her the sacred mystery of the incarnation of the Son of God. He appeared before her, and said,

(¹) The language of several ancient writers seems to warrant the mention of this, as an historic fact; Mary's reply to the angel strongly confirms it.

“ Hail, Mary ! Thou most favoured of God ! The Lord is with thee ! Thou art the most blessed of women.” Mary was surprised, and troubled at the appearance of the angel, and his address to her ; and was considering it, when he again addressed her ; “ Mary !” he said, “ fear not ! Thou hast found favour with God : thou shalt conceive and bring forth a son ; thou shalt call him Jesus. “ He shall be great ; he shall be (‘) the Son of the Most High ; the Lord God shall give him the throne of David his father ; he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever ; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.”

Such was the language of the angel.—Seven hundred years before, similar expressions had been used by the prophet Isaiah (‘), in foretelling the

(1) “ Shall be called,” is frequently used, both in the Hebrew and Greek parts of the sacred writings, for the words “ shall be.”—“ Καλεῖσθαι, esse, ad imitationem Hebrew, נְקָרָה Matt. v. 9. οὐδὲ Θεῖς Κληθήσονται, filii dei erunt ; ibid. v. 19. xxi. 13. Marc. xi. 17. Luc. i. 32, 35, 76. Jac. ii. 23. Conf. Vorst. Philol. Sac. c. 5. p. 155. ed. Fischeri, qui bene adduxit locum Homeri II. iv. 60. sc. ἔνταξα σὸν παρά—“ καῖτις κίκληματι, ubi Eustathius Τὸ κέκληματι ἀντὶ τῶν οὐμάτων, κίκλων. Similiter vocari pro esse dixit Valer. Argo. V. v. 653. Adde Wolf. ad Libanium, Ep. 30. p. 70. Casaub. ad Theo. cap. 3. “ et Grævium ad Cal. Hym. in Jov. v. 20.” This extract is made from Schleusner’s *Novum Lexicon Græco-Latinum in Novum Testamentum*. A philological student of the sacred writings will not, perhaps, find two more useful works than this Lexicon, and the *Novus Thesaurus Philologicus, sive Lexicon in LXX. et alios Interpretes et Scriptores Apocryphos Veteris Testamenti, of Jo. Christian Biel.*

(2) Isa. vii. 14. ix. 6, 7. See Appendix, Note II.

birth of the child now announced to Mary. “ A “ virgin,” said the prophet, “ shall conceive, and “ bring forth a son. A child is born to us ; a child “ is given to us ; the ensigns of government hang “ from his shoulder ; and his name shall be called “ Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the “ Father of the everlasting age, the Prince of “ Peace ; he shall sit on the throne of David, and “ fix and establish it with judgment and justice, “ henceforth and for ever.”

The words of this prophecy, and their reference to the Messiah, were familiar to the inhabitants of Palestine ; and thus, the language of the angel distinctly announced to Mary, that she was to be the mother of the Messiah. “ How can it be ? ” said Mary, “ I know not man.” The angel answered, “ the Holy Spirit will descend upon thee ; the “ power of the Highest will overshadow thee ; the “ holy offspring will be the Son of God.—Eliza- “ beth, thy cousin, has all her life been thought “ barren, she has now conceived, and is six months “ gone with child. To God nothing is impos- “ sible.” Mary replied, “ Behold ! I am the “ servant of the Lord ! Be it done me as thou “ hast said.” The angel then departed from her. That moment, the mystery of love and mercy, pro- mised to mankind so many ages before, foretold by so many prophets, and desired by so many holy men, was wrought on earth :—The Saviour of man- kind was conceived in the womb of Mary.

C H A P V.

MARY'S VISIT TO ELIZABETH.

Luke i. 39—56.

MARY hastened to inform Elizabeth, her cousin, of the great mark, which she had received of the divine favour ; and, for that purpose, took a journey over the hilly country of Judea, to the city where Elizabeth and Zachary resided. As soon as she entered their house, she congratulated Elizabeth on her having conceived a son, and acquainted her with the salutation, which she herself had received from the angel, and the divine honour conferred on her. While Mary was speaking, the use of reason was accelerated to the child in the womb of Elizabeth : by the special interposition of the Almighty, he understood, the import of Mary's communication, and moved himself with joy. Elizabeth was filled with the Spirit of God, and exultingly said to Mary, “ Thou art the most blessed of Women ! ” And blessed is the fruit of thy womb ! How have “ I deserved the honour, that the mother of my “ Lord should visit me ! Even the child in my “ womb rejoiced in the wonder thou hast men- “ tioned, and moved and leaped. Blessed art thou, “ for having believed and trusted in the divine “ word. All, that the Lord has promised thee, “ shall come to pass.” Then Mary, moved with the same Holy Spirit, broke forth into a hymn of

praise and thanksgiving, "My soul," she said, "praiseth the Lord; my God, my Saviour hath filled my heart with joy. He hath looked, with mercy and favour, on his lowly handmaid: from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed. He, who is mighty, whose name is holy, hath done great things to me. In all times, he hath shown mercy to those who fear him, and displayed his power in confounding the designs of the proud of heart, in overthrowing the mighty, raising the humble, bestowing plenty on the poor, and depriving the rich of their wealth. Wonderfully hath he supported the Jews, his chosen people, remembering the mercies promised by him of old, to Abraham and his seed."

Mary remained with Elizabeth three months, and then returned to her dwelling in Bethlehem.

C H A P. VI.

THE BIRTH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Luke i. 27—79.

WHEN the time came for Elizabeth's delivery she brought forth a son. Her neighbours and relations, hearing of the divine favour to her, congratulated with her. On the eighth day after her delivery they met at the circumcision of the child, and urged her to have him called by his father's name, Zacharias. Elizabeth said he should be called John. They

observed to her that none of her kindred had that name ; and they asked his father, by signs, how he would have the child called. Zachary demanded a table-book, and, to their great surprise, wrote on it, “ the name of the child is John.” The use of speech was immediately restored to Zachary, and the first use, which he made of his speech, was to thank and praise God.

The report of these things soon spread over the neighbourhood, and all the hilly country, of Judea, and filled the people with awe. They considered that those particular manifestations of divine power were probably the immediate forerunner of some very remarkable event. “ Surely,” they said to one another, “ a child, whose conception and birth “ are attended by such miracles, must be designed, “ by the Almighty, for some great purpose !” The favour of Heaven to the child was visible.

Zachary continued to rejoice and praise the Lord ; and, under the particular inspiration of the Holy Ghost, composed the following hymn :—“ Blessed “ be the Lord, the God of Israel ! He hath looked “ with mercy on his people ; and, (as he hath re- “ peatedly foretold by his prophets, from the very “ earliest times), hath now raised for his people, “ in the family of his servant David, an Almighty “ Saviour ('). Thus he performeth the promises “ which he made to our forefathers, and the cove-

(1) The expression, in the original, is “ the horn of salvation.” It is to be observed, 1st, that in the Hebraic

“ nants which he entered into with them ; and
 “ particularly the oath which he swore to Abraham,
 “ that his posterity, delivered from the enemies of
 “ their religion and happiness, should, free from
 “ fear, serve and worship him in holiness and jus-
 “ tice through generations.

“ And thou, my son, art highly favoured ! Thou
 “ shalt be the prophet of the Most High ! Thou
 “ shalt go before him, and, by preaching to his
 “ people, now sunk in ignorance and sin, the duties
 “ and blessings of repentance, prepare their minds
 “ to receive the divine revelation, which, like the
 “ light opening from above, he now mercifully
 “ sendeth down to them, to direct their feet in the
 “ way of peace.”

It was the first time since the days of Malachi, between whom and Zachary 300 years had passed, that a prophet's voice had been heard in Judah.

idiom, the word “ horn,” in sentences like that in the text, is synonymous with the word, “ might.” 2dly, That, in the same idiom, the double substantive, either where both the substantives with a connective preposition, are in the same case, or where the first substantive is in the nominative case, and the second is in the genitive, frequently supplies the adjective, a part of speech which is wholly wanting in the Hebrew language,—thus “ mouth and wisdom,” or “ the mouth of “ wisdom,” signifies a wise discourse ;—and, 3dly, that in all poetry, particularly the poetry of the east, the thing is often substituted for the person,—as in Virgil :—

Formas magnorum ululare luporum.

It follows that “ the horn of salvation,” in the text, may be translated literally, “ power of salvation,” and interpretatively “ Almighty Saviour.”

Thus Zachary expressed his pious joy. As the son of Zachary grew up, his extraordinary gifts increased. At an early age, he repaired to a wilderness, and lived there, in retirement, till the time arrived of his publicly announcing his divine mission to Israel.

His birth was the last of the events announced by the prophets, which were to precede the birth of the Messiah. The hour, so often foretold and so long desired, was now speedily to arrive, in which, “while all things should be in silence, and the night should turn round in her middle course, the Almighty Word would descend from the royal throne, and dwell with man.”

C H A P. VII.

JESUS CHRIST.

John i. 1—5.

THE second person of the Holy Trinity, called in the Scriptures, The Word of God, existed, from all eternity, in God; and, with his Father, and the Holy Ghost, was God. All that God made, was made by The Word; and without The Word nothing was made. In the divine intelligence of The Word, all created being had its existence and life.

In the moment of the conception of the Virgin Mary, The Word became flesh in her womb. The

Word and the flesh formed One Person, and that Person is Jesus Christ.

In this adorable and incomprehensible union, The Word retained his divine nature ; the flesh retained its human nature ; but, though united, they were not confounded ; and thus, without admixture or change, The Word remained the second Person of the Holy Trinity, consubstantial and co-eternal with the Father and the Holy Ghost,— one God with them.

Such was His Divine Nature : His human nature consisted, like ours, of a body and a soul. His body was liable to pain ; his soul had a will, and thus, in Jesus Christ, there was one person and two wills : but, both his body and his human will were subordinate to his divine will.

In the first instant of his human existence all his intellectual faculties were complete.

His soul was most pure ; immeasurably elevated above sin and imperfection ; possessing, in the highest degree, virtue, science, and wisdom, an unlimited power of working all kinds of miracles, forgiving sins, and establishing the true religion over the earth ; and an infinite pre-eminence of grace over every created being in heaven or on earth*.

* See Med. du Pere Louis Dupont, 111 Semaine de l'Avent, Mardi.

C H A P. VIII.

THE APPEARANCE OF THE ANGEL TO ST. JOSEPH.

Matt. i. 18, to the end.

THE Birth of Jesus was attended with particular circumstances. It has been mentioned, that Mary was betrothed to Joseph ; but, they lived separate. When she returned from her visit to Elizabeth, symptoms of her sacred pregnancy, (which was then in its fourth month), began to appear ; and Joseph perceived them. By the law of Moses, of which he was a strict observer, he was bound, in the case, which he supposed to have happened, to repudiate her ; but compassionately wished to do it privately.

While his thoughts were engaged by this subject, an angel appeared to him in a dream, and said to him, “ Fear not, Joseph ! Thou son of David, “ to take Mary, thy espoused wife, home to thee ! “ For the child, whom she beareth, is conceived “ in her, by the Holy Ghost. She shall bring “ forth a son, and thou shalt call him Jesus (or “ The Saviour) ; for he shall save his people from “ their sins ('): and, in him, shall be fulfilled the “ word of the Lord by his prophet Isaiah, (vii. 14.), “ Behold a Virgin shall conceive, and bring forth

(1) St. Chrysostom and most of the Greek fathers represent this as a continuation of the angel's discourse to Joseph. See Calmet ad vers.

“ a son, and he shall be called Immanuel, that is, “ God with us ! ” ” Joseph awoke from his sleep, relieved in his mind, and, considering Mary, to be consecrated to God, continued to abstain from her (2).

C H A P. IX.

THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

Luke ii. 1—9.

THE time for the birth of our blessed Redeemer now arrived. The emperor Augustus had issued an order for inrolling, on the public register of every city, within the dominion of Rome, the names and circumstances of all his subjects. This was the first time of his issuing such an order ; it took place, when Quirinus was prefect of Syria. In obedience to it, every Jewish inhabitant of Palestine, attended in the city to which his family belonged, that his name might be inrolled with theirs. As Bethlehem was the place, in which David and his ancestors were born, and both Joseph

(2) Καὶ οὐκ ἐγένωτος ἀνὴρ ἦν ἕως οὗ ἀλέξεν τὸν θάνατον,—but ἕως, in the idiom of the Hellenistic Greek, does not imply that the event to which it refers, took place afterwards. See 1 Sam. xv. 35. Matt. xxii. 44. xxviii. 20. 1 Tim. iv. 13. Ps. cix. 2. It is the same, in the English language, with respect to the word “ before : ”—it is often said of a person who dies in his passage to India, that he died *before* he reached it ; and of one who dies under age, that he died *before* he attained twenty-one.

and Mary were of the lineage of David, it was necessary for them to repair to that city to be registered. It lay at a distance of a journey of four days from Galilee, the place of their residence ; and the road to it was through a mountainous country. When they set out on the journey, Mary was near the time of her delivery. On their arrival at Bethlehem, they found the public inn already full. They retired to a stable ; and there Mary brought forth her son⁽¹⁾. She wrapt him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger⁽²⁾.

(1) Πρωτότοκος, indifferently denotes a first and an only child. Exod. xiii. 2.

(2) It is a tradition, from early times, that an ox and an ass were then in the stable ; that the stable was a cave, cut out of a rock, on the south side of the city of Bethlehem ; and that the holy babe was born on the 25th day of December.

APPENDIX,

OR

TWO DISSERTATIONS,

- I. On the Genealogy of Christ.
- II. On the Prophecy of Isaiah vii. 14.

NOTE I.

NO part of the sacred writings presents a larger or more difficult subject of inquiry than the evangelical accounts of the GENEALOGY OF CHRIST. The works consulted by the writer upon it, are *Petri de Marca, Archiepiscopi Parisiensis, Dissertation de Stemmate Christi, in his Opuscula, published by Baluzius, at Paris, 1681, octavo.* *Father Papebrooch's Exercitatio Theogenealogica de Christi Parentumque ejus et consanguineorum atque affinium stammate, Ex Tomo. 3, de Actis Sanctorum Martii, pag. 9. & seq.* *Dissertation sur la Genealogie de Jesus Christ, in the Bible de Vence, 10 vol. 452;* *Dr. Barrett's Dissertation in the second part of his Edition of the Evangelium Secundum Matthæum ex codice rescripto in Bibliothecā Collegii Trinitatis, juxta Dublin, 1801;* and the profound *Critique of the last work, in the Ecclectic Reviews for March, July, and August, 1807.*

To establish the system adopted in the text, three propositions only need be assumed.

1st. That, in the Hebraic, and, (which for the purpose under consideration is the same), in the Greek-Hebraic idiom, the word “begat” applies to the remote, as well as the immediate, descendant of the ancestor: so that, if Marcus were the son, Titus the grandson, and Caius the great-grandson of Sempronius, it might, in the language of Scripture, be said, that Sempronius begat Caius:

2d. That, in the same idiom, the word “begat,” applies not only to the natural offspring, but to the offspring assigned to the ancestor by law:

3d. And that, if a man married the daughter and only child of another, he became, in the view of the Hebrew law, the son of that person; and thus was a son assigned to him by law.

The first of these positions accounts for the omission of several descents in the genealogical table given by St. Matthew. The two last show in what sense Zorobabel was the son both of Neri and Salathiel, and Joseph the son both of Jacob and of Eli, or Joachim. This will appear more clearly by the following figure of the genealogy:

THE

GENERATION OF CHRIST.

According to
ST. MATTHEW.



According to
ST. LUKE.

ADAM	-	-	1.
Seth	-	-	2.
Enos	-	-	3.
Cainan	-	-	4.
Malaleel	-	-	5.
Jared	-	-	6.
Enoch	-	-	7.
Mathusala	-		8.
Lamech	-	-	9.
Noe	-	-	10.
Sem	-	-	11.
Arphaxad	-		12.
Sala	-	-	13.
Heber	-	-	14.
Pheleg	-	-	15.
Ragau	-	-	16.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. LUKE.

1st Series of
14 Generations.

1.	-	-	-	-	ABRAHAM	-	-	-	-	-	20.
2.	-	-	-	-	Isaac	-	-	-	-	-	21.
3.	-	-	-	-	Jacob	-	-	-	-	-	22.
4.	-	-	-	-	Judah	-	-	-	-	-	23.
5.	-	-	-	-	Phares	-	-	-	-	-	24.
6.	-	-	-	-	Esrom	-	-	-	-	-	25.
7.	-	-	-	-	Aram	-	-	-	-	-	26.
8.	-	-	-	-	Aminadab	-	-	-	-	-	27.
9.	-	-	-	-	Naasson	-	-	-	-	-	28.
10.	-	-	-	-	Salmon	-	-	-	-	-	29.
11.	-	-	-	-	Booz	-	-	-	-	-	30.
12.	-	-	-	-	Obed	-	-	-	-	-	31.
13.	-	-	-	-	Jesse	-	-	-	-	-	32.
14.	-	-	-	-	DAVID	-	-	-	-	-	33.

2d Series of
14 Generations.

1.	-	-	SOLOMON.	Nathan	-	-	34.
2.	-	-	Roboam.	Malham	-	-	35.
3.	-	-	Abra.	Menna	-	-	36.
4.	-	-	Asa.	Melea	-	-	37.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. LUKE.

5.	-	-	Josaphat.	Eliakim	-	-	38.
9.	-	-	Joram.	Joas	-	-	39.
Passed over	by	St. Matthew.	Ochozias.	Joseph	-	-	40.
			Joas.	Juda	-	-	41.
			Amazias.	Simeon	-	-	42.
7.	-	-	Ozias, or Azarias.	Levi	-	-	43.
8.	-	-	Joatham.	Mathat	-	-	44.
9.	-	-	Achaz.	Joram	-	-	45.
10.	-	-	Ezechias.	Eliezer	-	-	46.
11.	-	-	Manasses.	Jehu	-	-	47.
12.	-	-	Amon.	Er	-	-	48.
13.	-	-	Josias.	Elmodam	-	-	49.

3d Series of
14 Generations.

1.	-	-	Jechonias.	Susanna.			
2.	-	-	Salathiel	-	-	-	54.
3.	-	-	Zorobabel	-	-	-	55.
4.	-	-	Abiud	Rhesa	-	-	56.
5.	-	-	Eliakim	Joanna	-	-	57.
6.	-	-	Azor.	Juda	-	-	58.
7.	-	-	Sadoc.	Joseph	-	-	59.
8.	-	-	Achim.	Semei	-	-	60.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. LUKE.

9. Eliud.
10. Eleazar.

11. Matthan.
12. Jacob.

12. Jacob.

13. JOSEPH

Mattathias	-	61.
Maath	-	62.
Nagge	-	63.
Heli	-	64.
Naum	-	65.
Amos	-	66.
Mattathias	-	67.
Joseph	-	68.
Janné	-	69.
Melchi	-	70.
Levi	-	71.
Matthat	-	72.
Heli	-	73.

MARY.

14.

JESUS.

For the arguments and authorities, by which the three positions assumed by the writer, are supported, he must refer to the authors cited by him at the beginning of this note, and to Wetstein's very curious and learned notes.

But, whatever the difficulties attending the Genealogy may be, it is evident that they arise solely from our imperfect knowledge of the laws, usages and idiom of the Jews. This is admirably stated by the author of the critique in the Ecclectic Review on Dr. Barrett's Dissertation.

“ In latter times,” he remarks, “ the difficulty “ has certainly excited much discussion ; but it is “ worthy of remark, that, while the archives of “ the Jews remained entire, the accuracy of the “ Evangelists was never brought in question. “ Hence it follows, either that some corruptions “ have, since that time, crept into the text, or “ that, the true method of reconciling the seeming “ inconsistencies was then better understood. The “ silence of the enemies of the gospel, both “ Heathen and Jewish, during even the *first* cen- “ tury, is itself a sufficient proof that neither in- “ consistency nor corruption could be then alleged “ against this part of the evangelical history. If “ a charge of this nature could have been sup- “ ported, it unquestionably would have been. The “ Jews and Heathens, who agreed in their hos- “ tility to the religion of Christ, were equally “ interested in this subject ; and could they have

“ proved, that a single flaw existed in these genealogical tables, they might at once have set aside the pretensions of our Lord and his disciples; for, if the lineal descent of Jesus from David were not indisputable, he could not possess the character essential to the Messiah, nor any right to the Jewish throne. If his title, in this respect, were even questionable, it is impossible to suppose that the Jews would have withheld an allegation which must fully vindicate them in denying his *Messiahship*, and in putting him to death as an impostor. We may confidently assert, therefore, that his regular lineal descent from David could not be disproved, since it was not even disputed at a time, when alone, it could have been done so successfully, and, by those persons who were so deeply interested in the event. The sincere believer may consequently be assured, that, whatever difficulties appear at present, had formerly no existence, and are even now of such a nature, as cannot be allowed to shake the faith of any reasonable man. We would not, however, be understood to intimate that these difficulties are now insuperable: on the contrary, we are satisfied that these have, for the most part, been satisfactorily explained by the evangelical harmonists.”

In a subsequent part of his critique the author has the following passage: “ Genealogical tables were kept among the Jews with great exactness.

“ Every person of learning, however, knows the
“ great difference in this point between St. Mat-
“ thew and St. Luke, who, having each of them
“ given us a genealogy of our Lord, has greatly
“ embarrassed the curious, and did so, early;
“ but, as in other cases, what was thought an ob-
“ jection against the sacred writer, has turned out
“ in his favour, so undoubtedly will this, when it
“ shall be thoroughly cleared up. Time may per-
“ haps do it; all I would attempt to show here,
“ is, that there has been lately discovered an in-
“ scription at Palmyra which has just the same
“ difficulty. He that clears up the Syrian dif-
“ ficulty will, I presume, clear up the *sacred*.
“ To which I would add; that it is to be remem-
“ bered that Palmyra was in the neighbourhood of
“ Judea, and the inscriptions that are found there
“ are about the apostolic age. As to the inscrip-
“ tion I refer to, Mr. Wood, the ingenious editor
“ of those ruins observed, that it was more dif-
“ ficult to understand than translate it. This, says
“ he, will appear by rendering it literally, which is
“ easiest done in Latin, thus: *Senatus populusque*
“ *Alialamenem, Pani filium, Moemi nepotem, Era-*
“ *nis pronepotem, Mathoi abnepotem, & Æranem*
“ *patrem ejus, viros pios et patriæ amicos, & omni*
“ *modo placentes, patriæ patriisque diis, honoris*
“ *gratia, Anno 450, Mense Aprili.* Our difficulty
“ is,” continues he, “ that Ærane is called the
“ father of Alialamenes, who is himself called

“ the son of Panus, just in the same manner as
 “ St. Matthew tells us that *Jacob begat Joseph* ;
 “ and St. Luke calls Joseph *the son of Heli*.
 “ There is something without doubt in these affairs
 “ particular to the East, which, however unknown
 “ to us, was common to the Jews and the people
 “ of Palmyra, and will, when properly explained,
 “ be a proof of the authenticity of these genealo-
 “ gies instead of an objection.”

NOTE II.

ISAIAH vii. v. 14.—The prediction in this text has been a subject of much discussion.

I. It has been disputed, whether the corresponding word in the Hebrew text should be rendered “ the Virgin,” or “ the young Woman,” a translation, which the Hebrew word sometimes justly admits. Bossuet, seems to bring a decisive argument in favour of the former. He observes, that it is the translation of the Septuagint, that this version was read in all the synagogues of Ægypt, Asia and Greece ; and that it is rendered in the same manner by the Targums of Jonathan and Onkelos. In this sense, therefore, concludes the learned prelate, the Jews themselves understood it, so long as they had no motive for questioning its meaning.

II. It has been disputed, whether the corresponding words in the Hebrew text should be rendered “ has conceived and brings forth,” or

“ shall conceive and bring forth.” The Hebrew word is a participle of the present tense ; and, in strictness, therefore, should receive the first translation ; the Septuagint and Vulgate express the latter. But, there is no real difference between the renderings. In reference to the representation, actually before his mental eye, the prophet beheld the virgin who had conceived and was bringing forth a son ; in reference to the divine event, which, by inspiration, he felt to be foretold by it, he saw the virgin, who was, at the time fixed by the Almighty, to conceive and bring forth a son. Between these references a translator might choose.—If his aim were to preserve the poetical spirit of the original, he would prefer the former ; if he meant his translation to be an interpretation of his text, (and the Septuagint throughout is an interpretative version), he would prefer the latter.

III. It has been asked, how the prophecy can be referred, at the same time, to the Messiah, who was not to be born till centuries after the prediction, and to a child, who was not to attain his fourth year before the two kings, by whom Jerusalem was then besieged, were to be destroyed ; and the birth of which child was to serve for a sign of Judah’s deliverance from them. This admits an easy answer :—It was not the child, whom the prophet foretold, that was to be the sign of the immediate deliverance of Judah from the two kings, who then besieged her capital. The sign of her

deliverance from them, was, that the prophet, transported into future times, beheld in representation the Virgin-mother, and the Divine Birth ; that he announced this representation to the people, and that, in the very words of God, he gave them a solemn and distinct assurance that their delivery from their immediate enemies was so very near that a child, such as was prophetically represented to him, would not reach the age of discretion, before the deliverance of Judah, from the two kings by whom she was immediately threatened.

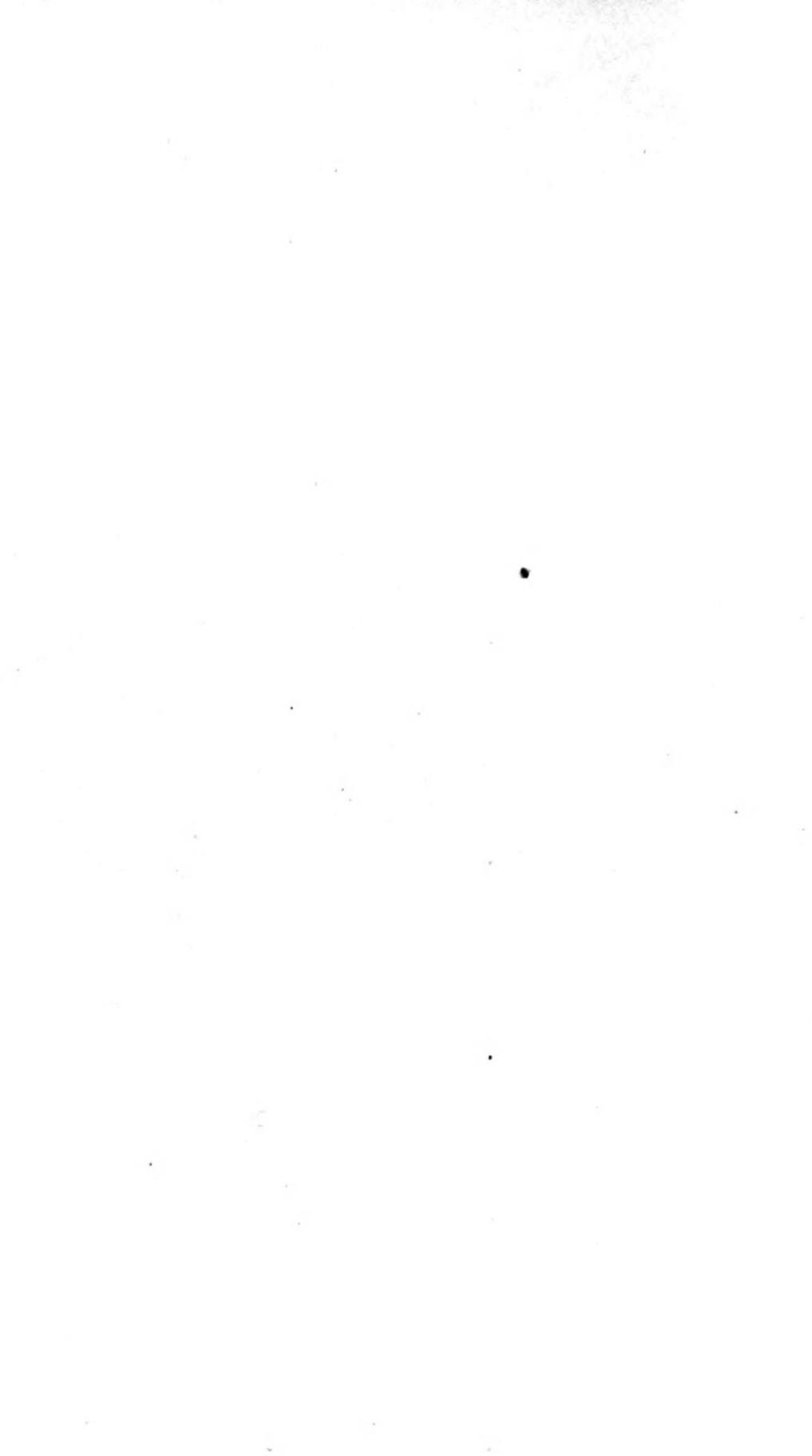
In this manner, the child served as a sign from above of the immediate deliverance of Judah.

On the other hand, to use the words of Dr. Lowth, the prophecy is introduced in so solemn a manner, the sign is so marked, the name of the child is so expressive ; the terms in which his order, his office, and his character are described are so magnificent, that the hearers could not apply them to a common child.—They could only apply them to the divine heir and restorer of the throne of David, the desired of nations, the promised Messiah. His glories from everlasting to everlasting had been often foretold : his virgin birth was then first revealed, and thus the divine representation was both a sign of the immediate deliverance of Judah, and of the future birth and reign of her divine Redeemer.

IV. It remains to observe, 1st, that, in the translation of the corresponding word in the text,

by the word, “ until,” the version of the Septuagint has been followed :—2dly, That the expression, “ And his name shall be called,” is an Hebraism synonymous with the words, “ he shall be :” — and 3dly, That the words, “ And the Government shall be on his shoulder,” are explained by Isa. ch. xxii, v. 22, to import that the key of David, or some other ensign of royalty, hung from the shoulder of the child, whom the prophet saw, and announced him royal.

END OF VOL. IV.

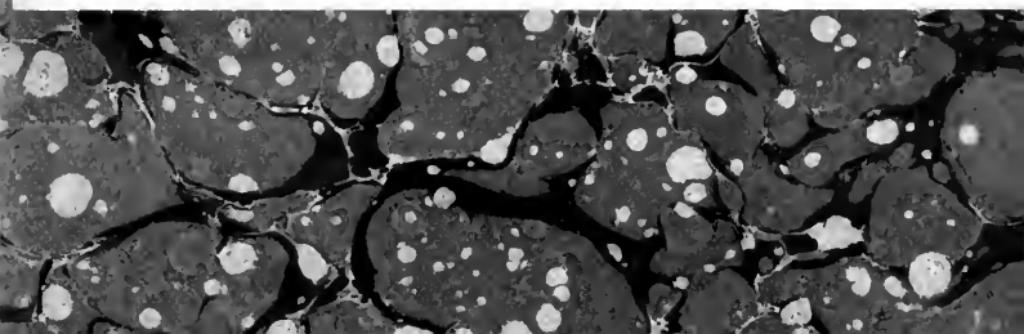


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